DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 250 247 SO 015 992

AUTHOR	Clark, Todd, Ed.
TITLE	South Africa/Time Running Out.
INSTITUTION	Constitutional Rights Foundation, Los Angeles, Calif.
PUB DATE	Apr 84
NOTE	65p.; The original report, "South Africa: Time Running Out," (1981) is available through the University of California Press. Photographs may not reproduce clearly.
AVAILABLE FROM	Constitutional Rights Foundation, 1510 Cotner Ave., Los Angeles, CA 90025 ($3.95).
PUB TYPE	Guides - Classroom Use - Guides (For Teachers) (052) -- Collected Works - Serials (022)
JOURNAL CIT	Bill of Rights in Action, v18 n1 Apr 1984.
EDRS PRICE	MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	African History; *Blacks; Case Studies; *Civil Liberties; *Controversial Issues (Course Content); Current Events; Economics; Foreign Policy; Geography Instruction; High Schools; History Instruction; International Relations; International Studies; International Trade; Learning Activities; Political Issues; *Racial Segregation; *Social Studies; Units of Study
IDENTIFIERS	*Apartheid; *South Africa

ABSTRACT

Based on the book, "South Africa: Time Running Out," a report of the Study Commission on U.S. Policy Toward Southern Africa, this 10-20 day unit of study is designed to help high school students learn about the history, geography, and present situation in South Africa and its relationship to the United States. The first of four sections provides basic background information, including an opening article describing a 1983 controversy over the proposed visit of a South African school inspector to an American high school; an article built around a student trip to South Africa; a section on American interests, policy objectives, and recommended actions toward South Africa; and an activity on South African history and geography. The second section focuses on Apartheid and the dynamics of South African life. This section contains eight short articles dealing with the current situation in South Africa, each beginning with factual information and ending with interviews with South Africans. The third section reviews South Africa's position in Africa and in the world, policies of major world powers toward South Africa, and the economic importance of South Africa's trade and minerals to the Western community. Activities in the final section give students an opportunity to compare practices of the South African government with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations, debate the effect of withdrawing pension funds from corporations doing business with South Africa, and develop objectives and recommendations concerning American interests and policies in South Africa. (LH)

South Africa/Time Running Out

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CRF
Bill of Rights in Action

Foreword

By Franklin Thomas
President, the Ford Foundation

Late in 1977 the Rockefeller Foundation asked me to explore the idea of a commission on U.S. policy toward southern Africa. Over the following ten months, I consulted with specialists in African affairs, knowledgeable journalists, State Department officials and potential Commission members.

Scholarly and journalistic studies of South Africa have not been lacking in the past, but we found that serious gaps existed. Most conspicuous had been the absence of a carefully thought out and articulated framework relating the full range of U.S. interests to policy. Sometimes when specific proposals have emerged—withdrawal by American business or broad economic sanctions against South Africa, to mention two frequently urged—little effort has been made to think through how they would produce the desired changes. Persuasive analysis of the strategic and economic importance of South Africa to the West has also been missing. On the basis of our feasibility study, we became convinced that an independent commission of qualified Americans could meet the need for a detailed, widely credible statement and analysis of the relevant facts, interests and policy choices facing the United States in South Africa.

The decision to proceed with the project was made by the Rockefeller Foundation in December 1978 and the Commission began taking shape the next spring.

Our assignment was to determine how the United States could best respond to the problems posed by South Africa and its dismaying system of racial separation and discrimination.

From the outset, we made no claim to a dispassionate attitude toward South Africa. We began our work with the firm conviction that apartheid is wrong and the hope that the transition to a more just society in South Africa would not be long delayed. At the same time, we did not come with preformed conclusions as to the relative importance of the different U.S. interests at stake in South Africa or policies for advancing them. We pledged to give a full and fair hearing to all points of view.

We agreed to absorb information for a year, to refrain from talking about policy until we felt reasonably confident about the facts. Only then did we begin to tackle the policy questions. This procedure had the merit of draining some of the emotion out of the issues and allowing us to focus more clearly on the complex realities.

A stream of background reading began flowing to Commission members in the summer of 1979. In the fall, the Commission began formal exploration on the issues through a series of meetings in New York with a wide range of knowledgeable persons. Among the topics covered were South African history, black and white politics, the law and practice of apartheid, the South African economy, internal forces for change, and South African military and internal security capabilities. Also considered were South Africa's relations with the rest of Africa and with the international community in general, American interests in South Africa, past and present U.S. foreign policy toward South Africa, and the Soviet and Cuban roles in southern Africa.

This was followed by a two-and-a-half week trip to South Africa in early 1980. Commission members traveled widely—Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban, Port Elizabeth, Pretoria, Ulundi, the Transkei. They talked with cabinet members, government administrators, leaders of the white parliamentary opposition, businessmen, farmers, union leaders, scholars and journalists. Members visited urban African "townships" and rural resettlement communities occupied by Africans newly evicted from "white" areas. Members listened to the views of African leaders and angry young residents of Soweto, the large African township outside Johannesburg and met with representatives of the Coloured and Indian communities. Some commissioners met one by one with "banned" dissidents who were forbidden to see more than one person at a time.

The Commission split into smaller groups for subsequent travel elsewhere in Africa, visiting Namibia, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Malawi, Zambia, Tanzania, Kenya and Nigeria. Commissioners talked to, among many others, President Kenneth Kaunda in Lusaka, an African National Congress leader in Dar es Salaam, Nigerian legislators in Lagos and young South African exiles in Nairobi. Staff members accompanied the Commission and made additional trips of their own to South Africa and Zimbabwe.

Along with continuing research, in the spring of 1980 the Commission held meetings in New York, Washington, D.C., and San Francisco at which representatives from a wide spectrum of U.S. groups and institutions presented their views on policy toward South Africa. Their recommendations ranged from support for immediate all-out armed struggle against the South African government to what amounted to acceptance of the status quo. Civil rights, anti-apartheid, religious, congressional, and student groups were represented, as were university administrations, corporations, research and public policy institutes, and state and local governments. In the late spring and early summer of 1980, groups of Commission members also held meetings in England, France, and West Germany with government officials, business leaders, and others involved with South African issues.

Following these meetings, the Commission met through the fall of 1980 to sort out what it had learned and to assess the current course of events in South Africa, the prospects for change, and the range of American policy options. In November, the Commission returned to South Africa. Renewing discussions with South Africans encountered on the first trip and eliciting the views of others, members sought reactions to emerging ideas and tried to gauge the impact of proposals under consideration.

Back home the Commission held a final series of meetings lasting into 1981 to draft its policy recommendations and to review and edit the background chapters of the report. The Commission also consulted with its advisors and their staffs: G.A. Costanzo, Vice-Chairman of the Board of Citibank; and William Sneath, Chairman of the Board of Union Carbide Corporation—as well as with three former senior government officials: Henry Kissinger, Donald F. McHenry and Cyrus Vance. The Commission spent a total of 75 days in meetings and fact-finding trips, and many additional days in individual work.

Bill of Rights in Action

February/April, 1984
Vol. XVIII, No. 1 C-98

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A publication of Constitutional Rights Foundation to explore the rights and responsibilities of citizens under the Bill of Rights.

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South Africa/Time Running Out

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Introduction

Most of the data used for the development of this BRIA came from the book, *South Africa: Time Running Out*, the report of the Study Commission on U.S. Policy Toward Southern Africa (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1981). The Study Commission, chaired by Franklin A. Thomas, President of the Ford Foundation, was made up of a distinguished group of commissioners representing a broad cross section of American life. They consulted nearly 100 Southern Africa specialists and spent time in South Africa and Southern Africa, where they met and talked with many of the key figures in public and private life.

Their report was intended to serve as a "basic resource for the general reader and the specialist." Under the direction of the Commission and its staff, we have reshaped materials from their report so they can be effectively used by classroom teachers with junior and senior high school students. However, all students are encouraged to get copies of the original report, which can be obtained through the University of California Press. Naturally, we hope students will find these materials stimulating and that they will serve to increase awareness of South Africa and its relationship to the United States and to the world.

In addition to the Commission report, the editor of this publication traveled throughout most urban and some key rural areas of South Africa in 1983. He wishes to thank the nearly 100 people of all racial and most political groups with whom he had a chance to talk. The impressions gained by these conversations have helped shape this publication. Thanks are also due the United States South Africa Leaders Exchange Program for arranging the meetings and providing great assistance in designing the editor's trip.

Also involved in this project has been Global Perspectives in Education which prepared a publication designed to be used by teachers, *Intercom*, "Focus on South Africa: Time Running Out."* Our two publications, while not designed to be used together, can nicely complement each other and, as a package, provide the basis for an introduction to the study of South Africa and U.S. policy options there.

*Focus on South Africa: Time Running Out (Intercom #165). Order from Global Perspectives in Education, Inc., 218 East 18th Street, New York, NY 10003. $7.75 per copy.

About this Issue

This special 64-page issue of the *Bill of Rights in Action* is based on the Report of the Study Commission on U.S. Policy Toward Southern Africa. It is intended to be used with able high school students as the basis for a 10 to 20 day unit of study.

To be used effectively in ten days, all students should participate in the opening activity, *South Africa, Its History & People*, day 1 and 2. Student committees should be formed to study different sub-sections, for example, *Who Rules the Land?* and *Religion*. The information they gather should be shared during the activities in Section IV. As a 4-week unit, additional time can be devoted to each section, and all students can participate in the four concluding activities.

These materials have been designed and organized to help students gain knowledge regarding the history, geography and present situation in the Republic of South Africa and its relationship to the United States. It is equally important for young people to understand the human dimension of the South Africa situation. In the full report of the Commission, a series of 35 in-depth interviews were included, many of which have been summarized and used here. These interviews, supplemented with several others gathered in 1983 by the editor of this publication, provide students with an opportunity to be touched by the human element in South Africa. As is true with the United States, the richness of the South African culture created by a diverse population adds an element of special interest as well as complexity to the study of South African life. By integrating both the data about South Africa and the interviews with South Africans, it is hoped that students will not only begin to develop a better understanding of the complicated circumstances of South African life, but also an empathy for South African people of all races and groups.

Section I: The U.S. & South Africa

Section I is designed to stimulate interest and provide basic background information so students they will want to find out more about South Africa. The opening article begins with a brief description of a controversy that developed during the Spring of 1983 over the proposed visit of a South African school inspector to an American high school campus. It is suggested that this factual situation be re-examined at the end of the unit and that students compare and contrast their positions after they have studied the information provided in the unit. Following the introductory debate is an article built around the idea of a student trip to South Africa to acquire the information needed to make an informed judgment. The quotations and other personalized elements in this section were obtained during a trip through South Africa following the itinerary described in Section I during the month of August 1983.

1 class period

- Activities: Discussion, writing assignment

This next sub-section, *What's At Stake for the U.S. in South Africa*, is taken directly from the Commission report and will provide students with a framework for understanding American interests regarding South Africa, U.S. policy objectives and recommended actions the U.S. government and corporations could take.

1 class period

- Activity: Review, discuss, refer back during unit

The section concludes with an activity, *South Africa: Its History & People*, which provides students with a large chunk of information on the history and geography of South Africa in a relatively short period of time through information-sharing. Allow at least one class period to debrief the activity; only with ample discussion can the information exchanged be helpful to every student.

2-3 class periods

- Activities: Information sharing, individual and group writing assignment, map analysis

Section II: Apartheid & The Dynamics of South African Life

This section contains eight short articles dealing with different aspects of the current South African situation. Each begins with a factual introduction followed by interviews with South Africans.

1. Who Rules The Land?—provides information regarding the ruling white South African minority. The interviews present several minority viewpoints.
2. Government & Civil Liberties—reviews the organization of the minority government and describes how the law is used to control all elements of African, so-called Coloured and Asian life. Cases illustrate how various elements of the legal system are used to manage racial groups who make up the majority of the population.
3. The Workplace & The Economy—deals with the importance of black labor to the economy and the role of American business in South Africa. The importance of labor unions as a key focus on the possibilities for change in present day South Africa is discussed.
4. Townships & Homelands—concerns the use of these areas to manage the African population through control over residency, homeland development, and resettlement of millions of Africans.
5. Education—illustrates the present system and how the growing anger of Africans and other racial groups about the lack of educational opportunity has become a key issue for South Africa. To maintain a competitive economy, the nation must move away from its present labor intensive activities.
6. Religion—explains the influence of the Dutch Reformed Church on the minority culture and the importance of Christianity as a stimulus for present efforts to bring about change.
7. The Black Challenge—describes the growing frustration and rage of the younger members of the black community and the implications that this has for present and future developments.
8. The Potential for Change—surveys the prospects for change initiated by the South African government. Although only 16% of the population, the white minority appears to have the power to maintain order in South African life. Growing impatience of Africans and other racial groups points to the continued conflict between the majority and minority group and seriously challenges the hope that peaceful change can take place before serious violence occurs.

2-8 class periods

- Activities: Use for individual reading and writing plus class discussion; or organize the class into committees to review different sections and share information

Section III: The Wider Stage

The Wider Stage reviews briefly South Africa's position in Africa and in the world, as well as the policies of the U.S., selected Western European countries, Japan and the Soviet Union and the economic importance of South African trade and minerals to the Western community.

1 class period

- Activities: Discussion, writing assignments

Section IV: Practices & Policies Toward South Africa

- Activity 1: Human Rights

This short activity gives students an opportunity to compare practices of the South African government with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations and to draw conclusions regarding the status of human rights today in South Africa and the outlook for change.

1-2 class periods

- Activities: Discussion, group work, writing assignments

- Activity 2: Should the U.S. Invest in South Africa?

The movement in state, county and local governments to withdraw pension funds from corporations doing business within South Africa is dealt with in this activity. Students participate as members of a state legislature debating the advisability of such a policy.

2 class periods

- Activities: Legislative Simulation, group work, writing assignment

- Activity 3 & 4: Study Commission on U.S. Policy Toward South Africa

In this activity, students work as members of small committees to identify American interests and develop objectives and propose actions to protect those interests. In Activity 4, *South Africa Policy Transition Team*, students use the work they have done in creating policy to develop recommendations to a new American president regarding our South Africa policy.

2-6 class periods

- Activities: Group work, writing assignments

The U.S. & South Africa

In the Spring of 1983, a regional school inspector for the Republic of South Africa came to the United States to tour predominantly black public schools. As word of his visit became known to the faculty of one high school, a teacher, in an open letter to his colleagues, urged that the invitation for the visit be withdrawn. He wrote, "It is the practice of many organizations in the U.S. to shun South African functionaries out of respect for a community sentiment of repugnance for the government of that country." The controversy that followed the release of his letter ended with a decision cancelling the visit. The teacher was officially reprimanded by his principal for "disrupting the educational process and impeding the free flow of ideas."

There was a strong difference of opinion among students and faculty over the appropriateness of the visit. Some believed that to welcome South Africa's white officials would signal black South Africans that Americans were not concerned with the problems they face. Some who favored the visit believed that if the South African official actually saw what black students could accomplish, he would recognize that, given opportunity, black achievement can be great. Still others argued on behalf of the free flow of ideas and information: students should have every opportunity to be exposed to the varying points of view regarding any controversial issue.

One thing is certain. As a result of the projected visit and the debate, more attention was given to the problems and issues of South African life than ever before. Some teachers stopped what they were doing to present special units on life in and the history of South Africa. Other classes debated the basic question of the visit itself. In one such group a vote was taken with half favoring the visit and half opposing it.

What do you believe should have happened? Suppose the high school students had been predominantly white? Suppose the school inspector had been black? What is the situation in South Africa regarding race? How much do you know? How much should you know?

A Tour of Contrasts

It takes 17 hours to fly from John F. Kennedy Airport in New York to Johannesburg. The visitor arrives in a country of wild animal preserves, Indian Ocean beaches and resorts, gold and diamonds, hundreds of varieties of exotic birds, mountains of great beauty, 400 golf courses, world class wines, surfing, skin diving, fishing and more sunshine than you will find on the French Riviera. Tourist office brochures are filled with beautiful pictures of the opportunities for fun and sun. They promise a chance to visit "the world in one country."

What else will a visitor find in South Africa? What of the destruction of families and the forced resettlement of 3.5 million people since 1960? What about apartheid, Soweto, the African homelands, migrant workers, the pass laws, influx control and censorship? What about the white minority enjoying their place at the top of a rich and powerful economy? What about the 19 million Africans with no share in running things?* South Africa is beautiful and sunny, but it is also a very troubled land. It is a nation stained with blood; whites and blacks have fought one another for several hundred years to control it. Its government is committed by law to keep all people of color in an inferior position. It is a land preoccupied by the expectation of violence.

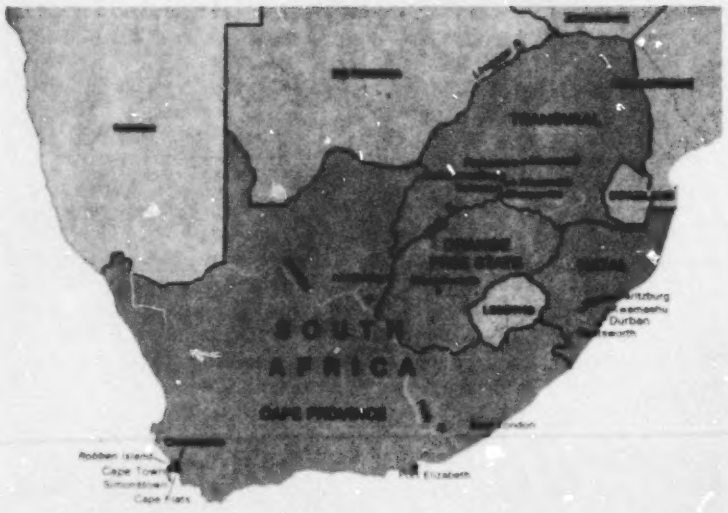
Today, nearly 30 million people are in conflict about the future of this country of contrasts. Whether their conflict will be settled by accommodation or large-scale, open violence between the ruling white minority and the majority of Africans, Coloureds and Asians is not yet certain. But whatever happens, we will all be affected by it and should understand why.

Imagine that some of the students from the high school in the case above had been invited by a South African student group to visit the country and find out more about it. Their trip might take them along the following route:

- After arrival in Johannesburg, the students visited schools and families in Soweto, Johannesburg and Pretoria. They talked with representatives of Black Sash, a white organization that opposes government apartheid policies and helps Africans seek justice. They met with government officials who tried to explain the government's program. They spent time with whites and so-called "Coloured" South Africans trying to learn how the complicated race structure functions.
- Next, they crossed the Transvaal Province, visiting portions of Kruger National Park (the first great game preserve and one of the finest places to see the animals of Africa).
- Then they flew to Durban in Natal Province for a few days of "sun and sand" at one of the desegregated beaches along the warm Indian Ocean, meeting with businessmen and students who are English in background and progressive in viewpoint, before visiting KwaZulu, one of ten so-called homelands for Africans.
- In Port Elizabeth, one of the major manufacturing centers of South Africa, they toured the Ford and General Motors factories and talked with American managers, African workers and the officers of leading trade unions about efforts being made by American companies to improve opportunity for African and Coloured workers.
- Next, they met with African students in the Ciskei at the University of Fort Hare, the most famous of the African universities. In Ciskei, they visited the graves of Albert Luthuli, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, and Steve Biko, a young and promising African leader who died in 1977 while in police custody.
- Then, by car they drove down the magnificent coastline through Plettenberg Bay in the East Cape Province and on to Stellenbosch

University, where they spent a few days talking with Afrikaans-speaking white university students from all over South Africa and some of their professors.

- Driving on to Cape Town, our student groups saw the place European settlement in South Africa began and visited the buildings of Parliament, where they talked with several important political leaders.
- Finally, they drove northeast two days to Johannesburg through Bloemfontein in the Orange Free State Province, and experienced the vastness of the land.



Courtesy Foreign Policy Study Foundation, Inc.

The students might have learned a great deal about South Africa on their short trip. But as American tourists, they would not discover much about the 19 million Africans who are restricted by a complex set of laws that deal with all aspects of their lives. Where these people live, where they can travel, and with whom they can associate are regulated by law. Just as a dam holds back huge quantities of water, so the rules and regulations governing the Africans, Coloureds and Asians hold 24,000,000 human beings back from full participation in the daily life of their country.

Our young travelers might be shocked by the isolation of each racial group from the others. White young people in South Africa know almost nothing about the lives of other racial groups or of the impact race laws have on people and their families. They do not realize that rage and deep hatred of white rule are all around them. "Coloureds," a mixed racial group, and East Indians, called "Asians" by the government, are hardly less enraged by government policies which limit opportunity by law. Today the dam may be cracking. The policies of the present government still seem strong, but who knows how quickly the pressure of the majority population will cause these cracks to widen and threaten the continued power of the white minority in South Africa?

Where will the present system take this beautiful country? One thing is very clear: the present government has enormous power. The secret police are thought to be everywhere. Past performance suggests that when frustration and rage lead to peaceful protest, it will be suppressed with force, often delivered with unnecessary and surprising harshness. Emerging leaders are identified quickly and removed. The absence of laws designed to protect the individual from the state means people are arrested and can simply disappear. Young student leaders who speak out against the system often face being kept out of universities or jobs.

Everyone in South Africa believes more violence lies ahead. Whether it will be random and sporadic or organized and widespread, no one knows. Revolution may be coming; no one can say. One day blacks will rule in South Africa. The longer and more violent the path, the less likely a democratic nation will ultimately emerge.

Finally, you might wonder whether a student group from a black high school would be admitted to South Africa at all. And, if admitted, whether they could travel freely and without harassment. Technically, they could enter South Africa on tourist visas. While traveling, they could stay in hotels and eat in restaurants designated as International. This means they are open to all races who can afford the price. However, without special care, harassment likely would be a problem for black young people as they traveled through the country. Certainly, it would not be easy to take a trip in a nation whose culture and laws do not treat blacks as real people.

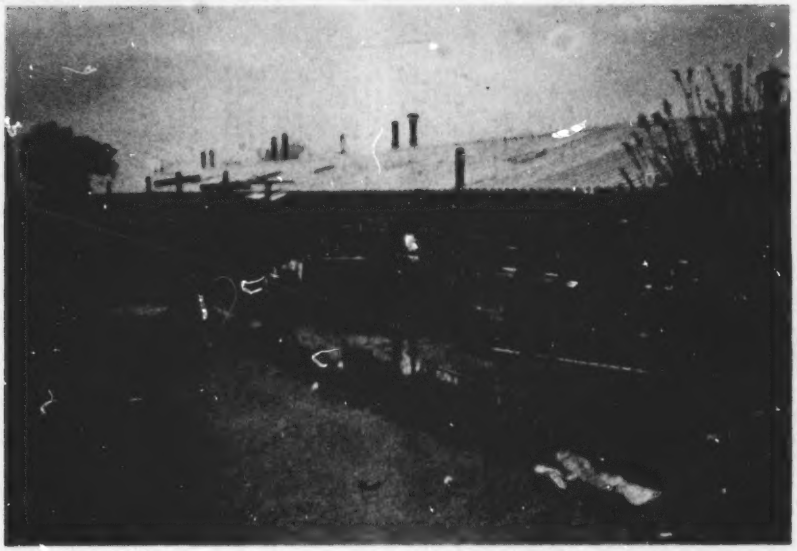
A Place Far Away

For most Americans, even those in government, neither South Africa nor Africa as a whole have been of major interest. From time to time, we read articles about apartheid and hear of efforts to change that system; but as recently as 1978, only 4% of the American people identified any African issue as "the second or third biggest foreign policy problem facing the United States today." Events there seem far away; its location puts it out of the mainstream of American thought.

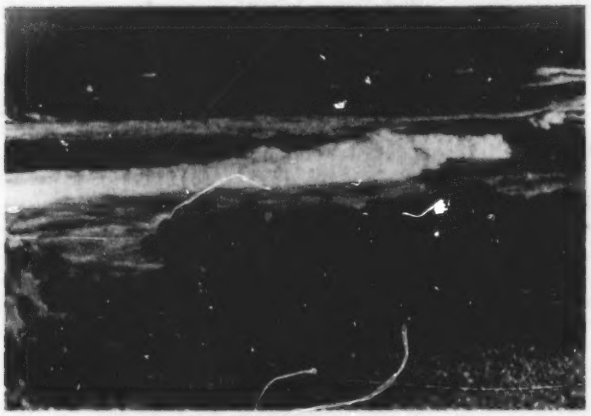
It wasn't until after World War II that our government began to deal consciously with South Africa as anything more than another friendly country. Individual Americans, particularly mining engineers, had worked with Cecil Rhodes, an Englishman who opened the gold and diamond mines of South Africa in the 19th Century. Other Americans financed and built railroads and other industries which stimulated the development of the country, but their activities received little attention in the United States.

At the turn of the century, a war of independence broke out in South

Travel in South Africa offers a tour of contrasts.



Typical row houses in Soweto, each only 500 square feet.



The magnificent coastline of Cape Province.

Africa. Called the Anglo-Boer War, it pitted whites of mostly Dutch ancestry (the Boers) against the British. After a fierce struggle, the British finally won, but many Americans sympathized with the Boer cause. American missionaries, both black and white, who worked there sent back information about the struggle for control of South Africa.

Later, during World War II, South Africa again captured U.S. attention. As an ally, its leader, General Jan Smuts, became well known to Americans. This benevolent, goateed figure was a key advisor to Winston Churchill throughout the long war and worked with the United States in establishing the United Nations. However, Smuts' idea to make South Africa the major force in all of Central Africa did not win favor with the American government. He also lost support among his own Afrikaner group by working for accommodation between English and Afrikaners. In 1948, he was voted out of office and dropped from public notice in the United States.

The Malan Government of the National party took power in 1948 and formalized the apartheid system, building on historic practices begun under British rule that strictly segregate the South African population along racial lines. The change was barely noticed in America. As years passed, American investments increased and we became more directly dependent upon South Africa for key minerals needed by our industries and began to recognize South Africa's economic importance. Furthermore, during the U.S.-U.S.S.R. "cold war," South Africa has always been strongly anti-Soviet and, therefore, a potential ally.

As the civil rights struggle gained momentum in the U.S. during the 60's, and as the old colonial powers gave up their control of most of Africa, many Americans became more interested in African affairs. Although South Africa has never been a colony in the same sense as many other parts of Africa, great pressure has been exerted on its government to change its policies so that Africans, Coloured, and Asian South Africans can participate in public life and have equal opportunity as citizens. The newly independent African nations have

succeeded in focusing attention on affairs in South Africa and as a consequence more Americans today are aware of the problems there than has ever been true before. Nevertheless, Americans still lack information about South Africa and have little clear understanding of our interests there.

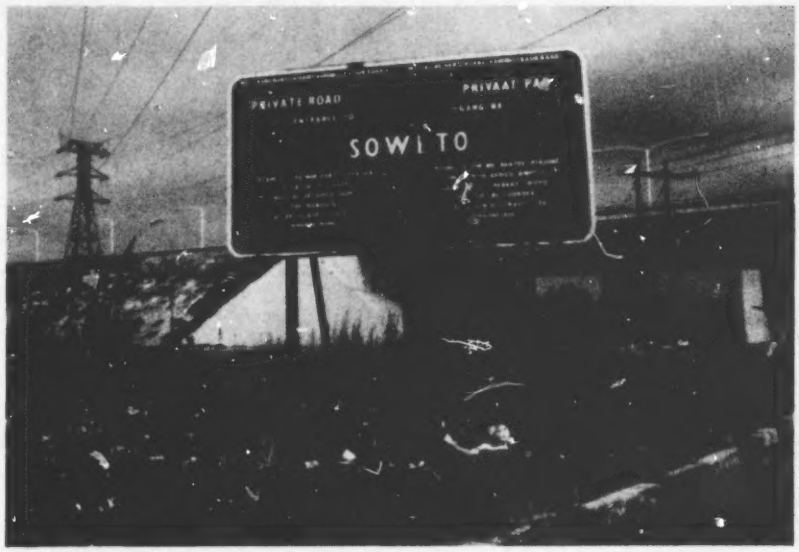
Points to Ponder

The United States' actions alone lack the power to eliminate the system of apartheid in South Africa; still, it is important for U.S. policy to be based on an understanding of the realities and trends of today. The articles that follow will summarize the structural and human elements of South African life and help you learn more about South Africa.

As you go forward, you might be tempted to ask yourself the questions, "How does this concern me?" and "How does this concern the United States?" At those moments, remind yourself that not so long ago many Americans asked the same questions about Vietnam, Iran, Afganistan, Lebanon and El Salvador.

* Throughout this publication, when a reference to "black" is used, it means all non-whites (black Africans, Coloureds and Asians). When the term "African" is used, it refers to any person "who is, or is generally accepted as, a member of any aboriginal race or tribe of Africa." Some inconsistency exists in the interview sections which preserve the words chosen by the person interviewed.

Johannesburg — a glimpse at ultra-modern South Africa.



A sign greets visitors to Soweto township.

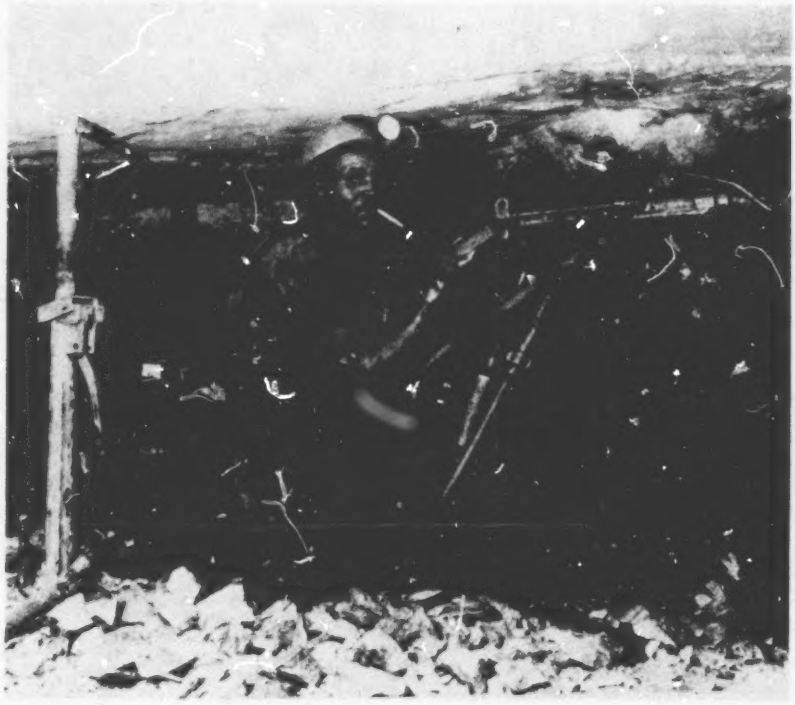
Crossroads squatters camp is frequently cleared out by the government.

What's at Stake for the U.S. in South Africa?

Findings and Recommendations of the Study Commission on U.S. Policy Toward Southern Africa

A Summary

The report, *South Africa: Time Running Out,* was published in the spring of 1981. Based on the current situation in South Africa following the constitutional referendum of November 2, 1983, the Commission's recommendations remain as relevant today. The following is a summary of their findings and recommendations.



Key minerals and commercial relationships are important issues for the U.S. *(United Nations/Contact)*

Interests

The Commission found that the United States has five major areas of interest that involve South Africa. These are:

1. *Protecting U.S. military and strategic interests in minimizing Soviet influence in Southern Africa.* Unimpeded use of the Cape sea route, along which much of the West's oil passes, is of great strategic importance to the United States. So is curbing Communist influence in the region.
2. *Insuring adequate supplies of key minerals imported from South Africa.* Four groups of minerals exported by South Africa are strategically and economically important to the United States. They are vital to the production of steel and other special metals. They are: chromium and ferrochrome, manganese and ferromanganese, platinum and vanadium.
3. *Advancing political freedom and civil liberties for all South Africa.* This concern grows out of our national history and fundamental moral and philosophical beliefs. Furthermore, should sustained racial violence occur in South Africa, it could trigger a bitter controversy within the United States and erode race relations progress in this country.
4. *Maintaining satisfactory diplomatic and commercial relationships with other African nations.* The U.S. has a growing stake in satisfactory relationships with the rest of Africa. We presently have over 2.5 billion dollars in direct investments and $14 billion worth of annual trade. Nigeria is the United States' second largest foreign oil supplier and a leading African opponent of apartheid.
5. *Maintaining commercial relations with South Africa.* The U.S. has $2 billion directly invested in South Africa and trade between the two countries totals $3.4 billion a year.

Current Realities and Trends

The Commission recognized that U.S. policy will depend upon an assessment of the current situation and the probable range of future events in South Africa. The Commission's assessment of current South African realities and trends include:

1. Whatever the South African government does to reinforce the status quo, black forces inside the country will eventually alter it.
2. The final battle lines have not yet been drawn in South Africa. Fundamental political change without sustained, large-scale violence is still possible, although time is running out.
3. For blacks and whites, certain positions are non-negotiable. For blacks, an acceptable solution must give them a genuine share in political power. For whites, an acceptable solution cannot be based on a winner-take-all form of majority rule. This is both the core of the problem and, because the non-negotiables are not necessarily irreconcilable, the key to its solution.
4. Many white leaders appear to accept the need to undertake some real reforms, and many black leaders appear to accept that fundamental changes will not come quickly and that compromises will have to be made. Younger blacks, however, are growing more radical and impatient.
5. Many contradictory forces are at work in South African society and there is much ferment. Continuing government repression coincides with

Africans demonstrate for civil and economic rights. *(United Nations/Contact)*

The integrated nature of the Commission's policy analysis is set forth and illustrated in the framework below.

Policy Framework

U.S. Interests

Protecting U.S. Military Strategic Interests and Minimizing Soviet Influence

Insuring Adequate Supplies of Key Minerals

Advancing Political Freedom and Civil Liberties

Maintaining Satisfactory Diplomatic and Commercial Relations with Other African Countries

Maintaining Commercial Relations with South Africa

South African Realities and Trends

The Commission's assessment of the current situation and the probable range of future events in South Africa. The context in which U.S. policy must be made and executed.

Objectives for U.S. Policy

1. Demonstrate the fundamental and continuing opposition of the U.S. to apartheid

2. Promote genuine political power shaking in South Africa with a minimum of violence by systematically exerting influence on the South African government

3. Support organizations inside South Africa working for change, assist the development of black leadership, and promote black welfare

4. Assist the economic development of the other states in the region, including reductions of the imbalance in their economic relations with South Africa

5. Reduce the impact of stoppages of key minerals from South Africa

Actions

Government
1. Arms Embargo
2. Nuclear Embargo
3. "Independent Homelands"

Corporations
1. No Expansion
2. Social Development
3. Sullivan Principles

Inducements and Pressures
(See discussion in South Africa: Time Running Out — p. 432-438 and Appendix C.)

1. Public Interest Org.
2. Antiapartheid
3. Research efforts
4. Educational Aid
5. Aid Unions
6. Investments/Loans
7. Social Development and Sullivan Principles
8. Leader Exchange
9. Monitor Repression

1. Regional Aid
2. Bilateral Aid
3. Aid Zimbabwe
4. Trade and Investment

1. Increase Stockpiles
2. Minerals Policy
3. Diversify Sources
4. Transport Sources
5. Encourage Allies

See Text in *South Africa: Time Running Out* Chapter 19.

some positive reforms and a great deal of debate among all racial groups. There is no clear pattern for the future.

6. Whites are not ready to accept blacks as equals or to share power with them. Some whites talk of the need to do so, but have not begun to address the issue in a way satisfactory to blacks. And blacks do not yet possess sufficient leverage to compel whites to share power.

7. Black and white South Africans must make their own choices, and whatever system they freely and fairly choose should be respected by the United States and the international community.

8. There are no easy solutions for South Africa. The choice is not between "slow, peaceful change" and "quick, violent change," but between a slow, uneven, sporadically violent evolutionary process and a slow, but much more violent, descent into civil war. Both paths could lead to genuine power sharing. The United States should do what it can to encourage the former course because it promises less blood shed and economic destruction and a government more responsive to the rights of all groups, and is more likely to protect the full range of U.S. interests.

9. The active collaboration of the South African government, whatever its ideology, is *not* an important factor in protecting the Cape sea route. A greater source of danger to the West is the growth of Soviet influence in the region, promoted by white intransigence in South Africa, growing political instability, rising levels of racial violence, and armed conflict.

10. Stoppages in the supply of key minerals exported from South Africa, should they occur, are likely to be partial, intermittent, and short term in duration, since the West is the natural market for these minerals and the South African government would need to sell them there. Medium-term (5-to 10-year) and long-term (more than 10-year) interruptions are unlikely.

Policy Recommendations

Objectives

On the basis of its findings, the Commission recommends a policy on the simultaneous pursuit of five objectives. These are intended to serve as an integrated framework for action by both the U.S. government and U.S. private organizations. These five objectives are:

1. To make clear the fundamental and continuing opposition of the U.S. government and people to the system of apartheid, with particular emphasis on the exclusion of blacks from an effective share in political power.
2. To promote genuine political power sharing in South Africa with a minimum of violence by systematically exerting influence on the South African government.
3. To support organizations inside South Africa working for change, assist the development of black leadership, and promote black welfare.
4. To assist the economic development of the other states in southern Africa, including reduction of the imbalance in their economic relations with South Africa.
5. To reduce the impact of stoppages of imports of key minerals from South Africa.

Actions

The following actions are recommended for each of the five objectives. (For a complete discussion of the policy recommendations of the Study Commission, see *South Africa: Time Running Out*, Chapter 19.)

Objective One

Actions (U.S. Government)

1. Broaden the arms embargo to cover foreign subsidiaries of U.S. companies.
2. Broaden the nuclear embargo.
3. No recognition or economic aid for "independent homelands."

Actions (U.S. Corporations)

1. No expansion, no new entry.
2. Commit corporate resources to "social development expenditure standard" to improve the lives of black South Africans.
3. Subscribe to and implement the Sullivan Principles.
4. Guidelines for U.S. shareholders.

Objective Two

Actions

1. Use inducements and pressures to encourage positive initiatives and discourage negative ones by the South African government. (See discussion in *South Africa: Time Running Out*, pp. 432-438 and Appendix C.)

Objective Three

Actions

1. Support public interest organizations working for change inside South Africa.
2. Encourage anti-apartheid activities by private groups in South Africa through U.S. counterparts.
3. Support the research efforts of South African organizations and individuals working for change.
4. Support programs providing educational aid for South African blacks.
5. Aid African and multi-racial labor unions.
6. U.S. Corporations:
   a. support black economic and social development through investments and loans.
   b. adopt and implement social development expenditure standard and Sullivan Principles.
7. Continue leadership exchange program.
8. Continue monitoring of South African government repression by private U.S. organizations.

Objective Four

Actions

1. Provide assistance on a regional basis.
2. Provide bilateral and regional aid to:
   a. assist agricultural development.
   b. assist development of transport, communications and energy infrastructures.
   c. assist vocational and management training.
3. Increase aid to southern Africa's Frontline States, especially Zimbabwe.
4. Encourage trade and industrial investment in the region.

Objective Five

Actions

1. Increase stockpiles of ferrochrome, ferromanganese, platinum and vanadium.
2. Develop a national minerals policy and contingency plans.
3. Diversify sources of supply.
4. Develop transport sectors of Frontline States in southern Africa.
5. Encourage U.S. allies to take parallel measures.

South Africa—Its History and People

What happens in South Africa tomorrow and in the future will be strongly influenced by the past. Europeans first settled in the area of the Cape in 1652. Africans, of course, had been living there for several thousand years. The interaction of these people with the land and with other groups who joined them has created a long and complex history. James Michener, in his novel of South Africa, *The Covenant*, used over 1,200 pages to tell the story. The following activity will provide you with a much briefer background on South Africa. Study the information carefully; it will help you understand the articles to come.

A monument dedicated to the spirit of *voortrekker* pioneers.

Instructions/*Overview of Activity*

1. The following activity introduces the history and geography of South Africa and its region. Each student receives one piece of information. It is used in several ways. First, students share their information with other students; then they use it to organize and prepare a brief presentation on one aspect of South Africa's history or geography. This technique can be adapted for use with any subject area where the objective is to present complex and detailed information quickly. The information segments are divided into six topic areas. They are: 1) history, 2) geography, 3) population, 4) resources, 5) political practices, and 6) development. You will note the corresponding lower case identifying letter next to each item.
2. *Time Required:* There is great flexibility in the amount of time that can be used to carry out this activity. If the instructor is prepared to begin the activity quickly, it can be completed during one class period at a relatively superficial level. However, since students will probably become quite involved, it may be wise to plan to spend at least two and possibly three class periods. In this way the initial portion of the activity—the first sharing of information and the establishment of small groups—is concluded the first day and the rest of the activity concluded the second day.
3. Reproduce copies of the 40 items below.
4. Cut the items into individual pieces. To make the activity slightly more difficult, you may wish to cut off the identifying initials as you divide the items. If you do remove the identifying initials, students will need to identify and form their own subject area groups.
5. Introduce the activity by telling the class that it is a way to learn quickly about the history and geography of South Africa. Write the six topics on the chalkboard. Then distribute one item to each student. Since there are 40 items, you may select and remove those that seem less relevant to your presentation of the lesson. If you wish to use all items, clip two related items together until you have reduced the total to the number that you need.
6. Ask students to become familiar enough with the information on their item sheet so they can share it extemporaneously with other students. It is important that they not simply read the information, but be able to restate it as briefly and correctly as possible.
7. Ask your students to move about the room sharing the information on their sheets with one another. Explain that each student is responsible for making sure that everyone in the class has his or her piece of information.
8. After 15-20 minutes, ask students to organize themselves into groups according to the six topics on the chalkboard. There are absolutely no correct number of items for each topic group. There can be variations according to the students' interpretation of the relationship or connection of one piece of information to another.
9. Ask each group to organize its pieces of information in logical sequence.
10. As soon as the information is organized logically, instruct each group to prepare a brief presentation for the rest of the class covering its material and topic, and to select one or more members of the group to make the presentation. Encourage the students to be imaginative.
11. Encourage questions and discussion between the groups as the presentations are made.
12. After all presentations have been made, you may wish to question the class or to give a short quiz based on the information contained in this activity. This can be done by asking each group to prepare two questions for the rest of the class on its topic area. Begin the third period by using all the questions submitted by the groups for a quiz.

—H—
In 1843, Britain annexed Natal to the Cape Colony. On the interior, two Boer republics, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, were allowed by Britain to go their own way. After diamonds and gold were discovered, the British maneuvered to take control of these areas also.

—G—
The Coloureds of mixed-racial background have strong cultural links with the Afrikaners. Most speak Afrikaans at home and are members of the Dutch Reformed Church. They live in the western part of the Cape Province, where they are the majority. Since the National party came to power in 1948, the Coloureds have experienced a series of crushing political, economic and social setbacks. Many Coloureds particularly the young, have become alienated from the South African government.

—D—
Manufacturing has been the dominant economic force in 20th Century South Africa. The impact of growth from 7% industrial production in 1911 to 22% in 1980 has been to create great pressure towards urbanization, shifting the population from 25% urban in 1911 to about 50% today.

—G—
Most of the land west of a line running in a northerly direction from the present city of Port Elizabeth receives less than 20 inches of rainfall per year and is too arid for growing crops. However, in the area around the Cape Peninsula more rain falls. Before the Dutch arrived, Africans used this area to graze animals and farm.

—H—
Following the British takeover of the Cape from the Dutch in 1806, settlers from England began arriving. Some were given free passage and free land. Thousands of others came on their own to settle. By 1870, British farming communities had taken root in eastern Cape Colony and in Natal, and residents of British origin dominated the professions and the trades in Cape Town.

—H—
Two key Afrikaner leaders who favored reconciliation with Britain after the Anglo-Boer War were Louis Botha, who commanded all republican (Boer) forces in the war and was later Prime Minister, and Jan Christian Smuts, also a Boer hero and an ardent supporter of Botha. Smuts served twice as Prime Minister. Both men were considered too pro-British by other Boers.

—D—
The decision by the Dutch East India Company to import slaves set the pattern which shaped modern South African society, with the whites at the top and blacks at the bottom. While South Africa was still an agricultural society, the whites took control of the best land. Mechanization of farming forced more Africans into the cities. A system of inequality of pay and a caste structure in which whites had the best jobs developed along with the growth of mining and manufacturing.

—H—
When England conquered the Cape Colony in 1806, *trekboers* (Dutch settlers) had gone as far north as the Orange River and as far east as the Fish River. Only the power of the Africans blocked further settlement. The *trekboers* became increasingly unhappy with British rule (especially emancipation of all slaves in 1834), and by the mid-1830s began the Great Trek, crossing with wagons, sheep and cattle into upper Natal and the plateaus on each side of the Vaal River.

—PP—
South Africa has three capitals: Cape Town (legislative), Pretoria (administrative), and Bloemfontein (judicial). Johannesburg is the country's largest city—the third largest on the African continent. Other notable cities are Durban, Port Elizabeth, Pietermaritzburg (capital of Natal), East London and Kimberley.

—P—
The 19.8 million black South Africans now represent 71.5% of the total population. This percentage will increase to 74.2% by the year 2000. They are divided by language and cultural groupings. The government requires all Africans to be legally associated with one of ten "homelands" related roughly to previous tribal affiliation, even though an individual may never have even visited the area. If unemployed or widowed, the law requires a person to move to their designated homeland.

—R—
The mining industry now extracts over 40 different minerals from mines all over the country. South Africa is the major producer of gem-quality diamonds and the largest world producer of gold ($613 million sold in 1980). Mining provides jobs for over 700,000 workers (10% of the workforce).

—G—
The country is flanked by the warm Indian Ocean on the east and the cool Atlantic on the west; sandy beaches stretch for 1,800 miles around this coastline. The Drakensberg is the principal mountain range of southern Africa, extending for almost 1,000 miles from the northern Transvaal to the Cape Midlands, its highest peaks being on the border between Natal and the independent nation of Lesotho. Cape Town's Table Mountain, a famous landmark, is but one of the elevations of the Cape Peninsula mountain group.

—H—
The current racial policies of apartheid have deep roots in custom and in law. "Segregation," the official policy until World War II, had three objectives: 1) provide cheap black labor for whites, 2) maintain white political control, and 3) keep blacks whose labor was not needed from urban areas by keeping them in geographic units called reserves (the basis for the homelands today).

—R—
Famous principally for its gold and diamond mines, South Africa is also very rich in other minerals. For instance, it has the world's largest known deposits of platinum, chromite, manganese, vanadium and fluorspar, and is well-endowed with antimony, asbestos, coal, copper, industrial as well as gem diamonds, iron ore, lead, limestone, mica, nickel, phosphates, titanium, uranium, vermiculite, zinc and zirconium.

—H—
The original Cape settlement was more than 400 miles from the nearest African chiefdom. By the time whites and Africans came into conflict, the superior firepower of the whites gave them the advantage. Bitter fighting took place for generations with bloody defeats and victories for both whites and Africans. The Venda chiefdoms of northern Transvaal were the last to be conquered by the Boers in 1898.

—PP—
The government treats Africans as though they were members of ten different nations or "homelands" within South Africa. Roughly half the Africans are in the homelands at any given time. Many of these suffer from acute poverty and malnutrition. More than 4 million are in rural "white" areas where they outnumber whites nine to one.

—P—
Whites brought two other racial groups to South Africa. The Dutch imported slaves from Madagascar, Ceylon, Indonesia and from other areas of Africa. Between 1860 and 1911, the British brought Indians as contract labor to the sugar estates near Natal. After their 10 year contracts expired, most chose to stay. Indians outnumbered the white population of Natal by the end of the 19th Century.

—G—
South Africa is three times the size of Texas. It is bordered by the Atlantic Ocean on the west, the Indian Ocean on the east, Namibia on the northwest, Botswana and Zimbabwe on the north and Mozambique and Swaziland on the northeast. South Africa totally surrounds Losotho, an independent nation. Its great distances and history of pioneer development make it somewhat similar to the United States. In numbers, whites have always represented a small percentage of the population, even though they control the political and economic systems.

—H—
People have lived in South Africa since early in the evolution of the human species. Early in the 3rd Century A.D., African farmers with iron tools began to migrate across the Limpopo River into what is today Eastern South Africa. These migrations continued off and on into the 11th Century. But many white South Africans of European origin believe in the myth that no one lived in the area before they arrived.

—PP—
Labor shortages of World War II, plus growing African and Coloured pressure for equal rights, caused whites to fear a loss of control. Exploiting these and other factors, the National party took over the government in the election of 1948. The "Nats" are still in control and their "apartheid" (apartness) political slogan is the basis for South Africa's racial policies.

—H—
The Dutch Reformed Church, the very conservative Christian denomination of the Afrikaners, interprets the Bible literally and has a powerful influence on South African life. The Bible, particularly the Old Testament, is used to justify the separation of races and the view of white supremacy that has been written into law by the government.

—H—
Two key Afrikaner leaders who favored complete independence from Britain were: J.B.M. Hertzog, Prime Minister from 1924-39, who restored Afrikaner pride after the Boer War and moved South Africa toward independence from England; and Daniel F. Malan, the leader of the National Party who engineered the election victory of 1948 and the creation of apartheid.

—P—
Of the 4.5 million whites, 60% are Afrikaners, the descendents of 17th and 18th Century settlers, and the remainder are English-speakers, who began settling in the early 19th Century. The Afrikaners were historically mostly rural, the English, urban. Although the English have traditionally controlled business and commerce and have tended to be better educated, these distinctions have become less significant in recent years.

—H—
In 1899, after much friction, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal declared war on Britain. In a conflict noted for atrocities on both sides and great hardships suffered by the Boers, the British finally triumphed in 1903. In the long run, the losers won. A South Africa controlled by Afrikaners became inevitable, because they have always been the larger of the two white groups and are politically homogeneous.

—PP—
Because of its extreme forms of racial discrimination, South Africa has been the subject of world-wide criticism since 1910. Since 1948, even more restrictive laws against all non-whites have caused most of the world to view South Africa as a repressive nation. Other African nations in particular are hostile to the South African regime; still many have maintained vital economic links out of necessity.

—R—
In addition to gold and diamonds, South Africa supplies the United States with four minerals vital to our industry: chromium, manganese and vanadium—all vital in steel alloy production—and platinum, used for auto emission control and other catalytic purposes. Supplies of these minerals are available elsewhere only in limited amounts, if at all.

—G—
The South African climate is mild mediterranean, much like California, and is divided into two zones. *Cape Coastal Belt*—the coastal strip, Cape Town to Port Elizabeth. *Rest of Country*—a high inland plateau, the hill country of Natal and the Lowveld of Eastern Transvaal.

—P—
The discovery of diamonds in 1867 and gold in 1886 brought many new settlers seeking wealth. White immigration peaked at 35,000 in 1948, declined, then rose to 40,000 a year from 1963 until the mid-1970s. Nearly half the 20th Century total has been British. Sizable numbers of Jews have also come, fleeing Russia, then Germany. Today, 60% of the white population traces its roots to the 20,000 Afrikaners of 1800.

—P—
No new immigration of Indians has been permitted since 1911. About 85% live in Natal. Over 80% are townspeople—half of them in Durban. There are a few wealthy businessmen, a large middle class and a mass of poor. They are segregated from whites but often not accepted by Africans, who consider them outsiders. But the economic and political losses of apartheid have driven the younger Indians toward the African majority.

—P—
Urban Africans number five million officially, and probably many more illegally. Several million drift back and forth between cities and homelands. There are also 300,000-400,000 migrants from other countries living in the urban townships. Within the African group, there are differences of wealth and status, but the great majority are extremely poor.

—H—
Shaka, a Zulu chief (1787-1828) organized a kingdom of 2,000,000. He created a standing army and was a brilliant military leader. As a result of his conquests, the Zulu kingdom remained a power for 70 years. Shaka's military campaigns caused the depopulation of large areas of rich land in the eastern part of South Africa, making the success of the Great Trek of the Boers possible.

—P—
The population of South Africa in 1980 was 27.7 million. Of that number there were 19.8 million Africans, 4.5 million whites, 2.6 million Coloureds and almost 800,000 Asians (Indians). The white percentage of the population is decreasing, the African is increasing. These trends are expected to continue for the next few decades.

—P—
Chief African ethnic groups are:

Zulu
Xhosa
Tswana
Sapedi
Shangaan
Swazi
Venda
South Sotho

—H—
In 1652, the Dutch East India Company established a refreshment station at the Cape Peninsula for sailors traveling between the Netherlands and Indonesia. By that time, African hunters and farmers lived throughout southern Africa. The heaviest areas of population were far to the east of the Cape.

—D—
A important figure in the development of modern South Africa was Cecil Rhodes, an Englishman who developed the gold and diamond industries and wanted to bring all southern Africa under British control. He was responsible for much unrest in the Orange Free State and Transvaal before the Anglo-Boer War. His vision was that British control of Africa should be expanded even further north.

—G—
The Republic of South Africa is made up of four provinces, Cape Province in the south and west, Natal in the east, the Orange Free State in the center and Transvaal in the north. In addition, there are ten so-called African homelands established by the government, made up of over 100 large and many small disconnected pieces of land.

Who Rules the Land?

Could I live under a black government? Not any of those that I know of today. They have to prove themselves. I don't think it's anything that should scare us. You loosen the brakes when it's necessary, and when you go too fast you turn on the brakes. That's democracy at its best.

—An Afrikaans-speaking Farmer

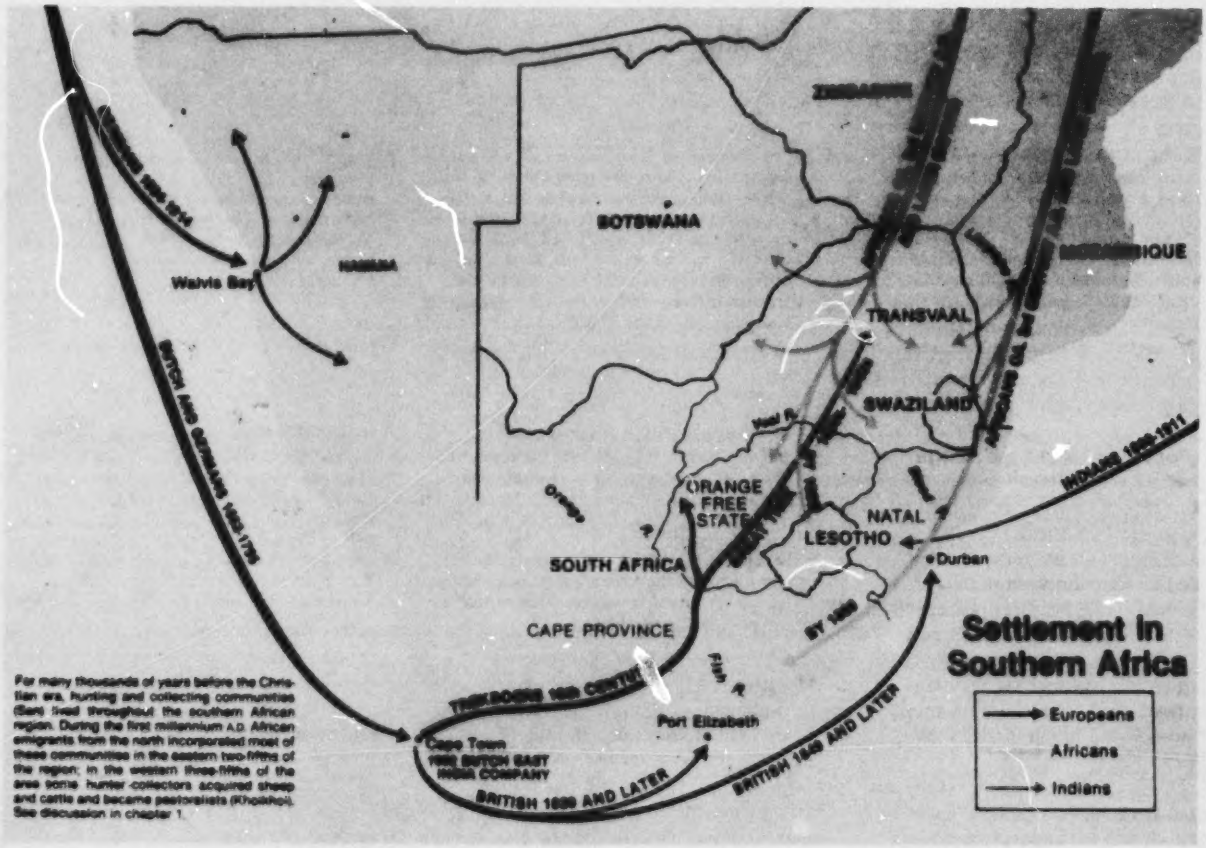
I personally think the new constitution is "rotten." But then political choices are never between good and bad—certainly in this country the choice mostly seems to be between very bad and worse still.

—An English-speaking Businessman

Settlement

The settlement of South Africa by Europeans began in 1652, when the Dutch East India Company established a station at the Cape of Good Hope. In 1657, five years after the original station was established at the Cape, nine employees were freed from their service contracts and began settling in the fertile southwestern tip of southern Africa. Later settlers were recruited from company employees who came mainly from the Netherlands and Germany. A French element was added in 1688-89 when the Company provided passage and land for 150 Huguenots who had fled France because the Catholic monarchy had revoked religious freedom for Protestants.

Dutch was the official language, but over time it developed into a distinct language called Afrikaans. The people came to call themselves Afrikaners. Their numbers grew very slowly. Many of the settlers became trekboers, seminomadic pastoral farmers. The British conquered the Cape colony in 1806. Beginning in the



Courtesy Foreign Policy Study Foundation, Inc.

second half of the 1830's, thousands of Afrikaners dissatisfied with British rule took advantage of the fact that the Zulu territory was partially depopulated and established settlements in upper Natal.

British conquest of the Cape colony opened up the area for British settlement. Several thousand British men and women obtained free passage and land grants, and many times that number paid their own way to South Africa. By 1870, British farming communities had taken root in the eastern Cape colony and in Natal, and residents of British origin dominated the professions and trades in Cape Town and other towns and villages throughout the region. The discovery of diamonds in 1867 and gold in 1886 also served to stimulate immigration from England.

By 1900, the last of the African groups had been defeated in battle and whites dominated the entire area of present-day South Africa. The Dutch East India company took the first step toward shaping modern South Africa through its decision to import slaves. Although all slaves were emancipated by the British in 1834, a system was established that placed whites at the top. British rule was organized to benefit the Empire with racial policies based on white supremacy. Many of these policies corresponded with the ideas of the early settlers called *voortrekkers*. By *voortrekker* tradition and law, nearly all skilled and supervisory work was done by whites; all dirty work was done by Africans and Coloureds.

In the 19th Century, many whites believed other races were inferior. Blacks were considered the most primitive race by whites, a view used to justify racial segregation in South Africa as well as in the U.S. and other areas controlled by white governments. These old views have been thoroughly discredited by modern science, but still influence the ideas toward race held by many whites.

The Politics of Apartheid

The South African political system excludes blacks from any significant role. The whites have always refused to share political and, ultimately, economic power with Africans. At the same time, whites have sought to retain and exploit black labor. Today, this nation of 27.7 million is ruled by a white minority of 4.5 million. Africans numbering 19.8 million, 2.6 million Coloured, and almost 800,000 Asians have no legal voice in the affairs of government.

South Africa's current political structure can be traced to the work of the Broederbond (League of Brothers), which was established in 1918 to promote the interests of Afrikaners. It became a secret organization and had great influence. The Afrikaners were decidedly second class citizens at that time; the Broederbond worked to focus attention on the plight of the poor Afrikaner, mobilize Afrikaner capital, and build a network of members able to open up new employment opportunities for Afrikaners.

World War II and economic development, which occurred during that period, drew thousands of Africans to urban areas. The government appeared to be losing its capacity to control the African population. The policital arm of the Broederbond, the National Party, took advantage of these racial anxieties and promoted a new program, "apartheid"—in English,"apartness." This program called for strict separation of the races and drew heavily on the Bible for support.

In the 1946 election, much to everyone's surprise and despite winning only a minority of the popular vote, the National Party and its ally, the Afrikaner Party, won a working majority in Parliament. They used their power to establish the apartheid system. Two years later, in the election of 1948, the National Party became the ruling party.

For whites at least, South Africa remains a relatively democratic society in which free elections are held. There are several major political parties, including the ruling National Party. It controls three quarters of the seats in Parliament and is made up principally of Afrikaners who belong to the Dutch Reformed Church.

The present Prime Minister, Pieter W. Botha, leads the more moderate or pragmatic faction of the National Party. As a result of his efforts to make changes in the government—for example, to provide the Coloured and Asian groups in South Africa with their own houses of Parliament—there has been substantial internal conflict within the party. In March of 1981, a rival Afrikaner movement was created, called the Conservative Party, to protest Mr. Botha's attempts to moderate traditional apartheid policies. However, Botha appears to be in an extremely strong position, working with a carefully selected cabinet personally loyal to him, and with the strong support of both the internal security forces and the defense establishment.

The objective of the present leadership of the South African government appears to be the creation of separate political institutions for each racial group controlled by the white minority. All these institutions will feed into a national decision-making process that will remain firmly in the hands of the white government. The aims of the Botha government are reflected in the new constitution.

On November 2, 1983, this constitution—which will include limited participation of so-called"Coloureds" and Asians—was approved by a referendum of white only voters. Sixty-six percent voted for the document, which the President says will be implemented during 1984. The new government will have three chambers of parliament based on race. Whites will still be in control as a result of their role in the President's Council. The President of the new government will have nearly absolute power. Some observers believe this means that reform will occur more quickly. Others who are suspicious of such a "benevolent" despotism fear that greater repression will result. Critics suggest that the constitution is an effort to reduce the chance of a united front made up of African, Coloured and Asian South Africans.

The official opposition party, the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), controlled 17 Parliamentary seats in 1981. It is dominated by English speakers and draws most of its support from business and professional groups, as well as from some suburban Afrikaners. It has influence far larger than its size would suggest, since its policies call for the full participation of all South Africans in government. Many blacks feel that the PFP articulates their grievances in the halls of government.

Downtown Johannesburg.

A beautiful example of traditional Afrikaner architecture.

Although it opposes the new constitution, Fredrick Van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the party, says the PFP will participate in the new government if the Coloureds and Asians do.

The English press is often viewed as the most important white opposition to the government. As a critical voice, it is periodically threatened by the government for speaking out against official policies. But it has been traditional for the English-speaking South African to oppose extensive government interference in their day-to-day lives, while the Afrikaners are much more willing to accept government involvement in the interest of maintaining separate racial patterns.

The quotations and interviews that follow, while by no means able to convey the breadth of view of South African whites, will provide you with the views of whites who have deep roots in South Africa.

An Afrikaner Farmer

The wine farmer's house is a classic Dutch gable, white-washed and thatched, set amongst tall ferns and wild fig and mimosa trees. A sleepy great dane is draped across the entrance to the main house. The old boer (farmer), whose hair is white now, reminisces: "The saying goes that the Huguenots arrived here with a Bible in one hand and a vine in another. What we have, we created for ourselves. We inherited nothing. My ancestors sailed to the Cape in 1688 fleeing religious and political persecution in France. 300 years later, it's easy to see their roots. Some of my family went inland, but most of us stayed here in the wine country."

We deal largely with untrained labor. We have roughly 100 laborers. At harvesting, their womenfolk and youngsters come in and work on a piecework basis. I provide housing for all my farmworkers. Some have been on the farm for generations. They also have aspirations and we prompt them to attend school. There's a school next door to the farm. And medical care is available through the clinics. We have an old-age pension fund run by the government. After the harvesting, just before Easter, a bonus is

handed out, calculated on years of service and on their present scale of pay, time, merit and so on.

I'm always surprised at the friendliness of blacks and Coloureds, who admittedly live in very poor circumstances. One of our number one priorities today is to provide good housing for our laborers. About 10% of the staff houses on this farm already have electricity.

The Coloured people have improved terrifically in my lifetime. There's terrific potential in human resources among the Coloureds and the blacks.

I wouldn't say that everything is fine and dandy. It's not that blacks shouldn't have a share in running this place. Where were they when we came here? I mean, it's a known fact that the blacks were halfway down the east coast of Africa when the whites settled here in the Cape. I'm not saying that we should forever be in command or that we should be the owners of what is in Africa.

Let's keep things as they are, because it all works, unlike in other parts of Africa where it doesn't work. We also know we must do justice to so-called human rights.

A Banned Person

The house is a comfortable stucco building set well back from the street, surrounded by a lovely yard. Inside are signs of a busy, active life. Books are everywhere. A comfortable chair for reading faces the street. The man in his sixties is vigorous and attractive. His energy and enthusiasm for life are magnetic.

As you know, I was a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church. My father was also a minister. I come from a background that is very strongly religious and conservative politically. I came to the conclusion that the biblical defense and justification for apartheid was untenable. The Afrikaner through his history has been led to believe that whatever he was doing had a divine sanction of some form. Much of that has fallen away now, and you won't find that position being consciously defended, but it is still part of the parcel.

Afrikaners have a sense of being persecuted, or having been oppressed or repressed and persecuted. They always feel that they are being threatened by some group. It's either British, the British culture, or the British language. Now it is the black majority. That is why the Afrikaner is so sensitive about any political rights to be given to blacks. Blacks are seen to be an alien group, too foreign religiously, culturally, politically and otherwise.

It's important to look at the whole presentation of South Africa's history through the eyes of your Afrikaans-speaking people. You will find that their perspective of history as compared to the black viewpoint is miles apart, even poles apart. One has to take into consideration the Afrikaners isolation historically and geographically. We are close to the South Pole; south of us is nothing but water, so in a sense, everything ends here. Other countries have been part of the highways and byways of civilization, of forces, of peoples, of movements of peoples.

The Afrikaner regards his culture to be true and meaningful, and would certainly not look upon the values as expressed in black society as expressions of culture. The black is not to be regarded as human in the fullest sense. In the more culturally-developed section of the Afrikaner community this is not the case. What I'm talking about is the rank and file of your less educated Afrikaan-speaking people. They're the ones who get more direct contact with the less educated blacks and whose political views and voting power deeply affect the political situation of the country.

If the Dutch Reformed Churches had really been willing to move forward and to undertake a meaningful, massive program of Christian re-education of the thinking and the feeling of the Afrikaans people, it would have made a tremendous difference. But I, at the present moment, don't see any possibility that this could really happen. As far as I can see, very little can be expected to emerge from the churches with regard to fundamental change.

One must be aware of the fact that you have a white minority in a ruling and dominating position, with practically all the political power in their hands—the military being fully in their hands, the whole of the police machinery being their aparatus, a security police actively busy from morning until night. The South African government is fully aware that it has Western support, despite the outward words or actions of protest. Basically, it is backed and supported by the U.S., by Britain, by Germany, partly by France, by Switzerland, by Japanese trade, and that it has nothing to fear from the rest. South Africa feels itself to be in a position to take a number of actions which another government would certainly not get away with so easily.

There's no possibility of an open civil war which can be waged in the normal sense of the word. I think, because of that, what one could expect is a slow growth and, eventually, an escalation of urban guerilla action, sabotage, bombing and so forth. The sense of bitter frustration will increase, the polarization between white and black will increase, and the relationships on a human basis will deteriorate.

I don't want to create the impression that civil disobedience could not become an effective weapon of change in South Africa. It could if it would be allowed, but you have ruthless reaction and suppression of all meaningful forms of civil disobedience. Increasingly among the younger black community in South Africa, the conviction has come that there is no possibility of any successful non-violent action or resistance. To my mind, it is no longer possible for some violence to be avoided, but I believe that we must do everything in our power to at least minimize it, so that the possibility of negotiation remains.

Blacks have been so patient because it is in their entire tradition and background. Peaceful forms of resistance have always been the ones that they have resorted to first. But where they have been tramped on, where they have been ruthlessly suppressed, it has led to tremendous reaction on the part of the black community and the fear that this simply will not work, and we know that what we are up against is a very sophisticated, very strong military machine.

Banning has had a very deep and lasting effect on me and my wife. What has helped us both were three or four major aspects of our experience. The first was that we found strength in our own Christian faith. The second was the tremendous support and love and concern from so many people inside and outside of South Africa. The third was the fact that I had, through my own experience, a friendship with banned people, so I knew something of what a banning order would entail and I was, therefore, psychologically better prepared. In that sense, I was better prepared for it than my wife. Banning is much harsher on the non-banned partner than on the banned person, because technically and legally she is free—she is free to move, free to go where she wishes, but she doesn't want to because she wants me to share with her. So, in that sense, it was much more painful for her to experience. During the five years I was banned, I was still able to live on a human basis and share much with others. But what I did miss more than anything else was the association with a large circle of friends—the debates and discussions.

Government & Civil Liberties

"Protest Leader Shot by Police," "Lawyer Detained For Six Months Without a Trial," "Rocky Horror Picture Show Banned," "Indians Refused Housing in White Areas of Johannesburg," "Black Newspaper Closed Down By Government."

These are all newspaper headlines depicting actual events in South Africa in recent years. To begin to understand how such actions take place and why change takes place so slowly in South Africa, we must examine the background and structure of the country's government and legal system.

The Structure of Government & the Legal System

Outwardly, the structure of the South African government closely resembles that of western nations, including Great Britain and the United States. In fact, its system is derived largely from British and Dutch heritage. Like Great Britain, it has a legislature called a "Parliament" and a court system seemingly based on the English model. Also, like Great Britain and other western nations, its highest-ranking elected executive leader is called a Prime Minister. In 1961, when South Africa left the British Commonwealth and became an independent republic, a new constitution was adopted.

There are, however, significant differences between the Republic of South Africa and other western governments. In the U.S., for example, the Constitution is "the highest law of the land" and can only be changed through a difficult process of adopting proposed amendments and then ratification by the states. In South Africa the will of Parliament is supreme and its constitution can be changed or overridden whenever a majority of those in Parliament desire to do so.

The United States Constitution also contains a Bill of Rights. The Bill of Rights guarantees individual rights such as the right to freedom of speech, the right to assemble and protest government action, the right to due process of law before losing one's liberty, and the right to equal treatment under the law. Not only are such rights not specifically written into the South African Constitution, but, as we shall see, their absence combined with the supremacy of Parliament has resulted in the large scale denial of individual rights.

The structure South Africa's legal system does not by itself dictate the absence of human rights. In fact, there used to be somewhat greater freedom in South Africa, and its legal system was once held in much higher regard by the international community than it is today. But in 1948, when the National government came to power and legalized "apartheid" policy, individual freedom and international respect began to severely diminish.

Apartheid means separateness. As soon as the National Party won the 1948 election, the new government implemented a program "to achieve the permanent physical, mental and spiritual separation of South Africa's four racial groups (white, Coloured, Indians and blacks). The rationale was to reduce the friction between them and give each the chance of developing along its own lines in its own appointed place." The National Party has largely achieved this aim and maintained apartheid by using the legal structure to implement a long list of segregation laws. It should be noted that there are many South African critics of apartheid and the laws which are part of it. These "critics" include Africans, Indians, Coloureds and even a minority of whites. Critics can also be found in many other countries and the United Nations.

Role of the Courts

Each of South Africa's four provinces has a division of its Supreme Court. Appeals from these divisional courts may be taken to the country's highest court, the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court. The judges are all appointed by the Cabinet.

South Africa's Parliament.

Many of the racial changes which occurred in the United States in the 1950's and 60's were the result of federal court actions which held specific laws establishing segregation to be in violation of the U.S. Constitution. This has not been possible in South Africa because its Constitution contains no Bill of Rights and specifically forbids the courts from reviewing and overruling laws passed by Parliament. For example, Sec. 59 (2) Republic of South Africa Constitution Act states: "No court of law shall be competent to enquire or pronounce upon the validity of any act passed by Parliament."

In the United States, court review of legislative actions, a power called "judicial review," provides a great check on the powers of Congress and state legislatures. Judicial review is non-existent in South Africa. As one South African Chief Justice once stated:

> *It is a plain principle that Parliament may make any encroachment it chooses upon the life, liberty or property of any individual subject to its sway, and that it is the function of the courts of law to enforce its will.*

• Prepared for this publication by Edward O'Brien, Esq., Co-Director, National Institute for Citizen Education in the Law, Washington, D.C. The author offers his thanks to John Dugard, Director of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies, Johannesburg, South Africa, for his editorial assistance with this article.

Role of Parliament

The Parliament and the provincial councils which come under it are elected only by white voters and consequently have only white representatives. This was not always the case. As far back as 1853, Africans had the right to vote at least in the Cape area of the country. In 1910, when the Union of South Africa was formed, non-whites were still allowed to vote in the Cape Province. This right to vote ended for African voters in 1936 and for the Coloured population it ended in 1956. Both had their rights to vote stripped away by a two-thirds vote of Parliament. The Indian population was given the right to elect five white representatives in 1946, but they refused to participate in the election of 1948, and later that year the National Party also withdrew all voting rights for Indians.

Since 1948, a white-only Parliament has passed many laws which have made apartheid a part of South African daily life. Though, as in parts of the U.S., segregation has always been the custom, the law now prohibits racial mixing in all but a few restaurants and hotels, theatres, sports arenas and park benches. South Africans are at birth formally listed as members of a particular racial group. It is a criminal act to marry someone who is classified different racially.

Restrictions on Freedom of Residence and Movement

Housing in South Africa has been racially segregated for most of its history. However, in 1950 the National Party passed the Group Areas Acts, which formally divided the country into specific areas for specific racial groups. It is a crime for members of one group to live in areas designated for another group. These laws have had a great impact on Indian and Coloured individuals. It is estimated that the act has forced over 100,000 Coloured families to move during the past 20 years, many from areas that their relatives have inhabited for over 100 years.

Supporters of racial segregation argue that these laws are all applied equally and, therefore, don't discriminate. This was disputed in court in 1957 by Indians who said that their area was overcrowded and had worse housing and poorer conditions than the white area. South Africa's highest court rejected the argument on the grounds *not* that treatment was equal, but that Parliament had authorized the movement of people and the inequality. A similar decision was again handed down by the Appeal Court in 1980. Parliament remains supreme.

The impact of this ruling has been somewhat modified by a 1982 Supreme Court decision. In this case, a woman and her three children, who were classified "Indians," had moved into a poor white neighborhood because no legal abode was available in the Indian area. Though she had been ordered to vacate her home, this order was recently reversed when another court held that before one can be forced to move, it must be shown that legal housing is available.

The Pass Laws

You have to be black to appreciate the humiliation and pain of being stopped while walking with your wife for your passes. You have to be one of us to know about being slung into a van and herded into jail just for a pass offense.

—Comment in *Sowetan* (black newspaper), 2/24/83

In 1982, over 200,000 blacks were arrested for violating what are referred to as the "pass laws." These laws date to as early as 1809. In 1952, the law renamed passes "reference books" and since then, all blacks have been required to carry them at all times. Failure to produce a reference book at a policeman's request is a criminal offense punishable by a fine or imprisonment of up to three months.

A number of South African laws restrict the movement and residences of blacks. For example, the government has instituted a policy of creating "independent homelands." These are "new states," carved out of the land of South Africa where groups of African persons are designated to live. In theory, this will provide Africans with "separate development" and political participation in their own state. These "states" have their own local government, but remain subject to the national laws of South Africa.

Critics of this policy—and there are many—state that under this plan whites will receive 87% of the territory of South Africa, including the most economically valuable. Under the plan, Africans may only vote in their homeland and not for the central Parliament. Consequently, Africans associated by language or culture with an "independent homeland" are deprived by law of their South African citizenship. Many say that the plan effectively forces Africans to live in poorer areas with reduced government services and less access to jobs. This, critics say, will result in permanent lower-class life for Africans in South Africa. Supporters claim that it gives Africans a chance to run their own affairs.

The Criminal Justice System

Following both the Dutch and English systems of law, South Africa once had a tradition of providing due process protections for those accused of crime. In fact, shortly after the formulation of the Union of South Africa in 1917, a Criminal Procedure Act was passed. For 40 years it provided those accused of crime with protections equal to or greater than those in the United States and England during the same period.

These protections included restrictions on the methods used in inducing confessions, the possibility of release from unlawful detention through a procedure similar to what we call habeas corpus, and a general right to bail. The Act also required that prosecutors prove their case beyond a reasonable doubt, and insured defendants the right to be free from self-incrimination and the right to have the assistance of a lawyer.

Today, the majority of these rights still exist, except when the crime is seen as "political" in nature. "Political" can be defined as any act of opposition to the government. Political crimes are outlawed by many acts of Parliament. The two most important were the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 and the Terrorism Act of 1967, which in 1982 were consolidated into the Internal Security Act. These laws reflect Parliament's increasing fear of violence, protest, or other actions designed to bring about change in South African society. Under these laws it is a crime to:

- advocate political, social or

economic change if such change involves any unlawful act or omission.

- commit any act whereby the maintenance of law and order is endangered or property damaged, the movement of traffic obstructed, or administration of the affairs of state embarrassed. (This is punishable by death.)
- commit any act, if the act is done with intent to endanger the maintenance of law and order or likely to cause an economic loss.
- take any action calculated to create hostilities between the white and black inhabitants of the country.

Critics of these laws say they are vague and claim that they give police virtually unlimited power to arrest whomever they please whenever they wish. Most arrested are also convicted because the security laws switch the burden of proof—usually on the prosecution—over to the defense, which is required to prove the accused person innocent of the alleged act. These laws have been used to arrest many members of organizations which advocate change in South Africa, including the African National Congress and Pan African Congress. They have also been used to prosecute labor groups trying to organize low paid black workers and others who actively oppose the government.

Perhaps the most controversial provision of the Terrorism Act is "Section 6" (now entitled Section 29 of the Internal Security Act). This permits the police, without a warrant, to detain any person who in the view of any senior police officer, has either committed an offense under the Act or has knowledge of such an offense. Therefore, under Section 6, people are detained, often for long periods of time, without even being charged with a crime. The law authorizes that a person may be detained indefinitely.

Most often, this type of detention is used to question witnesses and produce either a confession or evidence to be used against someone else. The person detained can be held incommunicado and be denied the right to see either a lawyer or his or her family or friends. The Attorney General can even refuse to set bail. In addition, under the security laws, there is no right to habeas corpus, so no court is allowed to review the situation.

Government officials state that Parliament has passed these laws restricting rights to meet the rising tide of violence in South Africa. And even critics of these laws acknowledge that South Africa has been subject to increased violence in recent years. For example, groups of Africans have been trained as guerrillas in neighboring countries and bombings and other terrorist activities have taken place. The government says this amounts to a real threat of subversion, which must be uncovered and prosecuted. Supporters of the restrictions argue that only information obtained through detention and interrogation of suspects makes prosecution possible. As the Minister of Police stated, "You won't get much information out of a suspect if you put him in a Five Star hotel or let him stay with friends." Court records reflect many convictions for political crimes resulting from such confessions.

After arrest and detention, an accused person is either released or formally charged with a crime. At this point, those accused of crime, even political crimes, are provided some legal protections. Every person has the right to an attorney, though lawyers for the poor are not necessarily paid for by the state. The situation has improved to some degree through the government-funded Legal Aid Board and foreign organizations which have continued to provide funds for defense in political trials. In addition, there are a number of lawyers in South Africa who, either because they disagree with government policies or believe every person deserves an attorney, are willing to represent defendants in political trials.

Once the trial begins, the courts seem to follow established decorum and procedures. Both sides are generally provided an opportunity to present evidence and be heard. There are no longer juries; these were abolished in 1969. This is not seen as a loss for justice, since the jury system allowed only whites to serve and, therefore, was seen by many as biased against black defendants. Of course, all the judges are also white, and some say that their decisions may be just as biased as were those of white juries.

The actions of judges in South Africa have received mixed reviews from observers both inside and outside of the country. For the most part, judges do seem to follow "the law," but as we have seen, the law is discriminatory in nature and following it may be giving it greater legitimacy than it deserves. On the other hand, many judges claim their hands are tied. Critics of these judges say that even if the judges can't rule the laws unconstitutional, nothing prohibits them from stating their opposition to such laws. In fact, some judges have spoken out and criticized specific government actions as unjust. But generally, judges are silent. As a judge in one Terrorism Act trial stated, "In a society such as ours, it is not for a judge to take sides in public controversies."

Bannings

A method frequently used by the government to control political dissent in South Africa has been the "banning" of people and organizations. This is authorized by the Internal Security Act of 1982. A "banned" person is generally restricted to a certain district and may not enter certain places such as schools, publishing houses and courts. They are often barred from any political or social gathering. A birthday party with friends, or a cup of tea in a tearoom, may violate the ban. A ban can consist of house arrest where the person may only leave his or her house to go to and from work and not at all on weekends.

Banning occurs without a court hearing and is largely within the discretion of the Executive branch. Freedom of the press is also severely endangered by the banning process. In 1977, after the unrest which followed the death in detention of the young African leader named Steve Biko, the government prohibited any further publishing of the leading African newspaper, *The World*, and detained its editor, Percy Qoboza. The feelings which banning evokes are evident in these words written by an African poet in 1982, just after receiving the order ending his ban:

> *In sheer disbelief I read the unbanning order. Eight years, six months and 10 days of my life. A life withered and drained by a piece of paper—no other like it in all the world and backed by a*

powerful and determined police force and a Parliament of white people.

I tell you life is cruel. Men are cruel. This country is cruel.

My wife said, 'Don't trust them. It's a trick. After all these years, it's a dirty trick.'

She spoke from first-hand experience of the irreparable damage that a piece of paper can inflict on a person. No amount of words can fully describe the human destruction and the pain of being banned. Only the banned and those very close to the banned can fathom the burning anguish of being unloved, unwanted in one's own land, among one's own people.

Despite the system of banning, a surprising amount of criticism of the government and its policies is allowed. However, it is important to note that certain aspects of reporting about two of the most criticized agencies, the police and the prisons, is expressly forbidden. And no matter what one writes about, one is never quite sure when one is over the invisible line and guilty of a crime such as "an act calculated to create hostilities between the races."

Under the Internal Security Act, police can detain and arrest people without warrant. *(United Nations/ Contact)*

Censorship & Claims of Torture

Books, films, plays and records must be screened and approved by a government Publication Committee which may disapprove any item which it judges "undesirable." In 1979, 1,326 items were banned, mostly for political reasons or because they were seen as "obscene." A number of American authors such as John Updike, Mary McCarthy and Henry Miller are among those whose books may not be read or distributed in the country.

During the past 30 years, numerous claims have been made that those held in detention were often tortured, or in some cases, like that of Steve Biko, killed by security police. For example, after a young, white union organizer named Dr. Neil Aggett was found hanging in his cell in police headquarters in February, 1982, a Detainee's Parents Support Committee was formed. This committee gathered and submitted considerable evidence of physical abuse and torture of those held without trial. Their findings:

- deprivation of sleep in 20 cases,
- deprivation of toilet in 8 cases,
- exposure to cold by being kept naked in 25 cases,
- hitting with fists, slapping, beating with sticks, batons, gun butts, dragging by hair, banging head on wall in 54 cases,
- suffocation in 25 cases,
- electric shock in 22 cases,
- attacks on genitals in 14 cases, and
- many types of psychological abuse such as intimidation, hooding, threats to loved ones or indefinite detention if the detainee didn't talk.

The government responded to this report by stating "we reject all such allegations and conclusions. This is a one-sided publicity campaign by the committee with unsigned allegations." However, Louis Le Grange, Minister of Law and Order, did respond in November, 1982, by stating "detainees shall not be assaulted in any manner or otherwise maltreated or subjected to any form of torture or inhumane or degrading treatment." He specifically said that detainees should be given adequate sleep and exercise. The Parents Committee has responded that Mr. Le Grange's measures are not sufficient to stop the abuses.

Can the Legal System Be Changed?

Many knowledgeable observers see little hope for change coming through the courts of South Africa. Over the past 35 years (with a few exceptions), most judges have become more willing to give full force to the laws of apartheid. Perhaps this is because more and more men of Afrikaner background have been appointed to the bench by the Nationalist Government during this time. Consequently, it is likely that many judges now personally support the government's policies.

If peaceful change is to come, many say it will be through Parliament. There is the belief that

Signs that forbid intermingling of the races are required by apartheid laws.

the government will really follow the words of the present Prime Minister Pieter Botha, who in 1979 warned his more conservative colleagues: "We must adapt or die." And since Botha took office, small changes have taken place. For example, it is now up to local communities to decide whether they wish to integrate a beach, a public toilet or a park bench. However, only in a few of the large cities, usually those where whites of English background have greater influence than Afrikaners, has even the smallest amount of desegregation taken place.

In addition, the status of "international" hotels, restaurants and theatres has been created, and these establishments permit members of different races to mingle. But few of these exist and most are much too expensive for use by the average African, Coloured or Indian.

Residency

Under the pass system, only a limited number of Africans have official residency status in urban areas. Only those born there or those who have worked for the same employer for 10 years, or for different employers continuously in the area for 15 years, are entitled to live outside the "homeland." All others may come into the cities only as migrants to work on one-year-only passes.

Mehloho Rikhoto, an African machine operator for a firm near Johannesburg, claimed he was entitled to permanent residence in a "white area" because he had lived and worked there for more than 10 years. But the government rules required him to renew his work contract once every year and a labor official said this made his residence "not continuous." The reason for the annual renewal rule was to prevent further black residency in white areas.

This law and the labor official's action were challenged in court by a public interest law firm, the Legal Resources Center. To the surprise of many, the country's highest court, the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, in June 1983, ruled in favor of Mr. Rikhoto and stated that the annual contracts didn't make his residency "non-continuous." This ruling could enable thousands of Africans to stay and live in urban areas outside the "homelands" if they can prove they qualify. At the present time, government officials are making it very difficult for Africans to do so. The process is complicated and the average African becomes enmeshed by rules and regulations intended to confuse and delay those who wish to file applications.

In another apparent change, the government is now leasing land on very limited bases to Africans who wish to construct their own homes in African townships. These 99-year leases make it possible for residents to borrow money for home construction, a practice never before possible. Although some observers believe this is simply a government solution to the shortage of housing, others think it is intended to help create an African middle class in South Africa with a stake in the status quo.

"improvements" are coming about, the government continues to strictly enforce pass laws, arrest and detain suspects under the Internal Security Act, harass certain journalists and execute certain convicted African "terrorists." Any protests have been met with greater repression. In addition, the forcible movement of thousands of Africans from urban areas to their "homelands" has continued to go forward.

For Discussion

1. How do the government and legal systems of South Africa compare to those of the United States? How do they differ?
2. What rights are restricted under the security laws in South Africa that ordinarily are provided to citizens in the U.S.? Is this justified? Do you think these restrictions are likely to achieve the government's purpose?
3. If the United States were threatened by large scale violence or terrorism, should it consider restricting the rights of those accused of crime? Why or why not?
4. Which of the laws discussed in this section do you think are the most in need of changing in South Africa? Why?
5. In the future, how can South Africa change its laws and reform its legal system? Which methods of change are most likely to succeed?
6. Is there a role for the U.S. in trying to change these laws? What should it do?
7. If you were a white living in South Africa, how would you propose the laws be changed? If you were an African living there, would your answer be different? Explain.

Case Studies in Law and Government/ Activity

Directions: Working in small groups, review the materials on pages 20-25 and discuss the following case studies using the questions provided for each. Be prepared to discuss your findings and the answers on page 62 with the rest of the class.

Case Study #1: Classification & Marriage

Sandra Laing was the daughter of white parents and, therefore, was classified as "white" at birth. At age 11, someone complained that she was Coloured in appearance. She then began to be treated badly at school, where many parents refused to let their children associate with Sandra.

At age 22, Sandra fell in love with an African, and in order to spend time with him and eventually marry him, she was forced to apply for Coloured status. Her application was granted and she was forced to permanently separate herself from her parents and white society.

For Discussion

1. Could what happened to Sandra ever have happened in the United States? How? When?
2. If you had been Sandra, what would you have done at age 11? What would you have done at age 22? What would you have done if you had been her parents at each of these times in her life?

Case Study #2: Stopped By the Police

Edward Lawson, a black who wears his hair in an ususual style, referred to as "dreadlocks," has the habit of walking long distances on foot and, during a two year period, was stopped 15 times while walking or hitchhiking in white areas.

For Discussion

1. Imagine this occurred in South Africa. Do you believe Lawson has committed a crime? If this had happened in California, would it have been a crime?
2. Should police have the right to stop and question "suspicious looking" people? What should the law require?

African displaying the "reference book" he is required to carry with him.

Case Study #3: The Anti-White Poem

Motsau, a young African, wrote a poem which expressed strongly anti-white feelings. The law at the time stated that it was "a crime to take any action calculated to create hostilities between the white and black inhabitants of the country." He showed it to only one person, a 17-year-old African girl. He was arrested.

For Discussion

1. Look at some of the acts that are listed above as being crimes under the security laws (pages 21-22). Do you think Motsau violated the law as written?
2. Do you think Motsau could be prosecuted in the United States for this act? Are people free to write or say anything they wish in America?

Case Study #4: Banning of a Novel

A South African novelist, Wessel Ebersohn, wrote a book entitled *Divide the Night*. In it, a prison psychologist tries to cure a white shopkeeper who has killed eight Africans who he claims tried to steal from his shop. The torture of an African conducted by the security police is described in the book.

A South African official wants the book banned "because its graphic style evokes intense emotional reaction from the reader and it is very clearly harmful to relations between the races in South Africa." The lawyer for the novelist argued that "only a small number of police were pictured unfavorably and if the book could make whites more sensitive to the danger of abuses under security legislation, it could only be beneficial."

For Discussion

1. If you were on the Committee of Publications that was deciding whether the book should be banned, how would you rule? Explain.

The Workplace & The Economy

U.S. General Motors facility in South Africa.

I have a few white friends. In a personal sense, they are beautiful people, but never in my working experience have I met a white man who has been nice to me. Some educated whites are more liberal, but if you meet a bus driver, or a railroad worker, or a post office worker, or another white working person, that's entirely different.

—Coloured Industrial Painter

One summer I had a job in a place where they canned food. During the first day, I asked where the toilet was. Someone said, 'Way down there.' I said, 'You expect me to go all that way? Surely, there must be one nearer.' So I went to the nearest one, which was the white toilet, and as I came out an Afrikaner said to me, 'You aren't allowed to use this toilet.' I said, 'Why not?' 'Because it's for whites.' So they got the architect of the factory to look for another toilet, and they found one which was unused and had been packed closed with boxes. They took away the boxes and moved it right next to the white toilet. The other guys who were supervisors wanted to go to the toilet, and asked me to give them my key. There was a big thing about this because I was allowing them to use my toilet.

What people wore was also important. There were some so-called Coloureds who wore brown overalls. The whites wore white dust coats, and the blacks wore grey dust coats. You could then see exactly who was Coloured, black, white. To show you how stupid these things are, someone asked about parking in a white area and the attendant said, 'Sure, that's O.K., because your car is white.'

—Coloured Worker

South Africa runs on black labor. Of the total South African workforce of 9.4 million, 80% are non-white. Of this number, 85% are African, 11% Coloured, and 3% are Asian. In terms of growth, South Africa's economy is one of the success stories of Africa. In 1978, it accounted for approximately 20% of the entire Continent's output of goods and services.

The field of employment is of particular importance, because it appears to be one of the areas offering the greatest possibility for peaceful accommodation of the races. Polls show South African whites less resistant to change in the workplace than in any other area of their lives.

The mining industry in South Africa now extracts over 40 different minerals in mines all over the country, with gold and diamonds remaining the largest in value. Manufacturing accounts for 22% of the gross domestic product. In spite of their role as the principal source of labor, black South African per-capita income for 1975 was estimated at between $200-250, as compared to the white per-capita income of $2,500.

American Employees

Labor apartheid is a major concern to Americans. Today, some 350 American companies do business directly in South Africa. They employ about 150,000 workers, of whom as many as 70% are African. Taking families into account, that means U.S. firms may directly affect the lives of between 300,000-350,000 Africans and influence the lives of many more because of their policies. Changes in foreign business practices in the past few years have unquestionably brought some improvements in the lives of black South Africans.

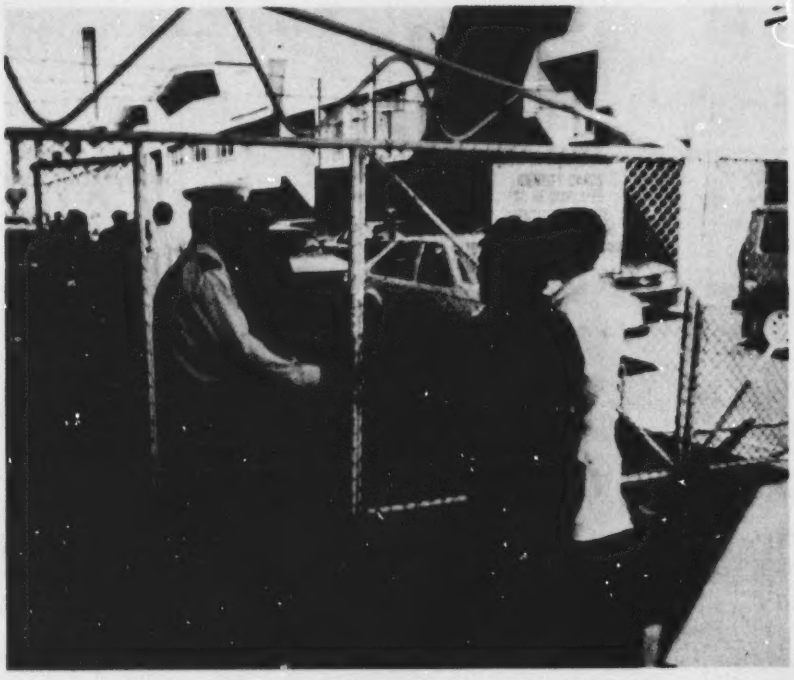
In 1977, the Sullivan Principles, a code of employer conduct was drawn up for U.S. firms by the Reverend Leon Sullivan, a black clergyman from Philadelphia who serves on the Board of Directors of the General Motors Corporation. One hundred and fifty American companies have signed the principles which call for: 1) non-segregation of races in eating, comfort and work facilities; 2) equal and fair employment practices; 3) equal pay for equal work; 4) training programs to prepare Africans and other non-whites for supervisory, technical, clerical, and administrative jobs in substantial numbers; 5) more Africans and other non-whites in management positions; 6) improved housing, transportation, schooling, health and recreation for employees and their families.

The implementation of the code has not been uniformly excellent and by 1983, 29 signatories had dropped out or failed to file reports. (One-

third of the companies receive failing grades according to the annual accounting report.) Reverend Sullivan maintains that the code has stimulated important change throughout the South African workplace. However, Sullivan also maintains, "...that until apartheid ends and full equality is achieved for blacks there should be no new expansion in South Africa by American companies, no new bank loans to the South African Government, and no sales to the South African police or military."

The code of the European Common Market also was created in an effort to set standards of behavior for European companies doing business in South Africa. In South Africa itself, the Urban Foundation, an organization created by South African business has also developed a set of fair labor standards. These codes are an effort to encourage employers to strive constantly for the elimination of racial discrimination in all aspects of employment practices—particularly in selection and promotion, wages and fringe benefits, and in recognizing the right of workers to freely associate.

The monitoring of these codes varies. The Sullivan Code signatory companies are asked to file a report annually with an accounting firm in the United States. However, there is no regular on-site inspection or involvement of African employees in the monitoring process. The European codes are less well monitored.



Africans reporting for work must identify themselves.

Labor and Unions

Government control of almost all aspects of the lives of Africans, including labor, requires an army of administrators. The process of influx control has been designed by the government to keep a tight rein on African freedom of movement and residence in South Africa, and yet to insure an adequate labor supply. Petty apartheid, the type of segregation that affects the routines of daily life, requires separate lavatories, elevators, restaurants, railway cars, drinking fountains, and other minor trappings that are intended to keep the races separate.

As a result of the Homelands Policy and of other registration and control laws, 2.8 million African workers were registered in 1977 at the Urban Labor Bureaus. Operating on short-term contracts, migrant workers are permitted in the townships of the major cities only so long as they have work. Another one-third of the South African labor force works in agriculture. At any one time, it is estimated that 25% of the African population is unemployed, and those who work are almost always found in the worst paying and least prestigious positions.

A constant problem in South Africa is the lack of enough skilled workers. During the 1960s, because of shortages of employees, employers filled many positions reserved for whites with Africans and Coloureds. Employers in manufacturing and commerce now operate primarily outside legal restrictions. Still, 82% of all African workers in 1977 held unskilled jobs. Only 9% held clerical positions, 5% skilled, 1% supervisory, and 3% professional.

After 1948, legal employment color bars previously confined to mining became more general in industry. Legislation enacted in 1956 authorized the government to reserve occupations for specific racial groups. Using these powers, the Minister of Labor reserved for whites a number of occupations in the meat packing, construction, metal, and engineering industries, and in many other areas as well.

More prevalent than legal racial obstacles are those negotiated by trade unions and employers. These create color barriers in such fields as automobile repair and the building and electrical trades. Although they affect fewer workers, there are also restrictions on apprenticeships. In this way, screening committees restrict to white and a few Coloureds and Asians the opportunity to become tradesmen in various skilled areas. Coupled with the inferior and limited quality of African education these restrictions further limit the opportunity for Africans to find adequate employment opportunities.

Since the early 1950's, the government has allowed workers the right to organize unions under carefully controlled circumstances. However, most labor action by workers has taken place outside of this legal framework. There have been many strikes and other work stoppages, led by African and Coloured unions. In 1970, there were only about ten African unions, with a total membership of 20,000. By 1975, there were more than 30, with membership of nearly 130,000.

In 1979, the government decided to allow African industrial workers to

Influx Control Office in Johannesburg (circa 1950's). It is still in operation. *(Eli Weinberg/ International Defense and Aid Fund — IDAF)*

join unions. The unionization right was expanded to cover migrant workers in the mining field at the option of the companies in 1981. Today, the power of African unions is growing rapidly and about 350,000 workers are unionized. Even in the mines the six major groups in the mining field set wages with direct negotiations with African union representatives.

As unions continue to grow, they are becoming a force to be taken seriously in a number of key mining, manufacturing, and public service areas. Also, as more Afrikaners become business leaders, their interests tend to separate from tradition; they lobby for more reasonable policies and for reform or lack of enforcement of rigid apartheid regulations.

The following interviews will give you a glimpse at the attitudes of South African workers and employers toward working conditions and each other.

For Discussion

1. What is the Sullivan Code?
2. What are reserved jobs? How do they affect opportunities of black workers?
3. How might the growth of African and Coloured unions affect South African government policies?

A Migrant Worker

At dawn in the Dube hostel in Soweto (Johannesburg's African Southwest Township), a man climbs stiffly from his simple metal frame bed. The dormitory is cold; most of the windows are broken and the door has been kicked in. He lights a gasoline stove by his bed and heats a bucket of water for shaving. He takes a suitcase from a tall steel locker by the side of his bed. It contains a jacket and trousers and a crisply ironed shirt. Before he leaves he puts the suitcase and stove into the steel cabinets securing the door with a strong padlock. The last thing he does is check that he has his passbook in his jacket pocket.

My contract as a migrant worker is for twelve months, and every year I have to return to Rustenburg and renew the contract for another year. That's the limit. The Dube Men's hostel, where I live, is like a barracks for soldiers. It's not a nice place for anyone. I stay because it's cheap and I want to save some money. There is no plaster on the walls and the floor is rough concrete. More than 700 people are crammed into it. You have only cold showers. You cook your own food on a Primus stove. You supply your own blankets and mattresses and pillows. The toilets are communal and we have no privacy. At night we have electricity. We can read and write letters home. You must lock your things up or they are stolen. We clean the hostel ourselves. The men are lonely, a long way from home, and they have to have women—there's not much anyone can do about it. I'm lucky because I can get a bus sometimes on weekends to see my wife in Rustenburg.

If I don't go home over the weekend, I watch the soccer matches in the township or go to the movies. On Sunday I go to church, the Lutheran Church. Sometimes I stay with my two sisters who are domestic servants. I'm not a drinking man, but some of the guys at the hostel drink all weekend.

The men who live in Dube come from all over the place. They are from different nations—Shanganis, Zulus, Tswanas, Vedis—and they seem to get on reasonably well with each other. Only the Zulus are funny, they keep their group separate from the others. Some who live here earn only 10 rand a week ($12.50).

I get 300 rand a month ($375.00). Five years ago I was earning half that much. It costs me nearly 5 rand per month to travel by train back and forth to work. Then I pay 5.50 rand round-trip each time I get home to Rustenburg. I budget my wages so I can go see my wife and kids once a month. Rent is cheap: 7.45 rand per month. My friends say, "How can you stay in that terrible place?" But it suits me. I don't spend too much and I am saving a little money.

I also built my own house in Rustenburg on a plot of land 50 meters by 50 meters. It's just a little 4-room house with no electricity, but we have a few goats and fowl. The worst thing is being away from your family for such a long time; there's nothing you can do. If I stay in Rustenburg, I am not able to earn a living. Johannesburg is much better. You can achieve your aims here. If I could, I would bring my family and stay in Johannesburg.

A Coloured Labor Leader

The office was on the second floor of a large building which housed small shops. Around the table were the head of one of the most successful unions in the auto industry, his assistants, both members of the so-called Coloured racial group, and a field organizer who was African.

Our union has adopted the approach of working within the factories concentrating on economic issues and on education. We carefully analyze our own strengths and weaknesses, and believe

that there is no point in exposing our weaknesses when we have no defense. That may be one of the reasons we haven't directly become active with political programs. We have tended to concentrate on developing worker leadership and worker organization. Our union is an example of a non-racial union: 51% of our membership are Coloured and 49% are so-called African. Our position of non-racialism means we don't consider race as an issue. We consider the interests of the workers to be the main thing. There is still a serious gap with white unions who see themselves in a privileged situation, with our guys moving forward to take some of those privileges away. White workers are the people that are supporting the government policies, and that is where the problem lies.

The Sullivan Principles haven't brought about any real changes in South Africa. There have been slight adaptations by the companies, but through the normal evolutionary process they would have to have more blacks in training because whites must go to defend the border. You can't say the changes came because of the Sullivan Principles. We believe the Sullivan Principles haven't done anything meaningful. On top of that, it has been difficult to move further than the Sullivan Principles. We believe it should be the workers in South Africa who determine their priorities, and not somebody in the States or Europe.

We acknowledge what you are trying to do, but it's not wanted here. The point about American investment bringing about change isn't really important. The only change we really see would come through revolutionary means, and then with economic pressures applied afterwards. Disinvestment in South Africa would bring about problems for workers here—unemployment, recession, and things like that. From a trade union point-of-view, no union is going to say bring in Japanese cars and create unemployment. And we don't see disinvestment as being a step to bring about revolutionary change.

The people of South Africa, especially the oppressed and exploited people have got an understanding of what the problem is, and they've got answers to the problem. By saying that, it does not mean that they need somebody from another country to tell them how to solve their problems. The people in South Africa need an acknowledgement that there are people who understand and share our experiences and are in sympathy with us. But outsiders must know that South Africans can resolve their problems by themselves. But we do need sympathy and understanding from people abroad.

The South African government is powerful, but I don't believe that it is really going to bring about change. But if we have the support to continue doing what we are doing, and if students continue to do what they are doing to build up the sort of consciousness in the schools, and if they organize and develop leaders and build structures, then maybe there is still hope for peaceful change. Who knows?

American Personnel Manager
In his large office in the main building of the huge auto assembly plant in Port Elizabeth, an American personnel manager describes his work in South Africa.

We are really a leading company here insofar as employment and personnel practices are concerned, and I think that even before the Sullivan Principles were initiated, we were doing things that put us ahead of where the law said we should be. The Sullivan Principles have moved forward the process of change in the industries throughout this country. I think it has been a significant factor. We submit a report annually to our people. This year, it was 175 pages long. Just putting it together is a major undertaking. The Principles have moved from the standpoint of basic requirements of equal pay for equal work into the areas of education, employee development and social action in the community. I think that they have had a very positive effect.

Some of the employees within the workforce might possibly raise the question of why we don't put the money that's being spent on those things into their paychecks. So there are those other factors that must be dealt with. But overall, I believe it has encouraged companies to do more and to do it faster. But more companies need to become involved in trying to implement the Principles. It can't simply be the big American firms. Others must join in as well.

Our company is totally opposed to apartheid. It's said so repeatedly in its public interest statements. I think locally we are involved in the community and working toward change. I know that our managing director has met on many occasions with government officials, both formally and informally. The system here is very complex, very formal, very tied to ritual and routine. Moving things along takes a lot of time. One must go through this long involved process before things happen. At this point in time, there have been some major changes in the labor area. That's only one avenue for the non-white community to work toward freedom of expression and representation. Everything is moving through labor. It makes dealing with the unions more complex; it's politicized. It would sure be nice to only have to deal with one union. Instead, we have three.

Millions of Africans face harsh economic conditions or unemployment. *(Steve Bloom/IDAF)*

Townships and Homelands

So far, all it has given me are promises. And if the government doesn't make some real changes soon, then there is going to be one unholy mess and people are going to die for nothing. And I can assure you I'll be there and I'll be one of them who's going to fight, and if I die in the process I only hope it will be better for my children.

—A Coloured Doctor

Industry and commerce in South Africa developed around the ports of Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Durban, and in the mineral rich areas of Witwatersrand where Johannesburg and Pretoria are located. Growth continues in these areas. Even today, about three-quarters of the total South African national income is generated in these four regions.

Whites have always considered urban areas their territory. Yet, because of demands for labor, Africans were permitted into urban areas. Rules and regulations were established to control their presence depending on the labor needs of the white population. As South Africa developed economically around the major urban centers, greater numbers of Africans attempted to make their residence permanent.

During World War II, the labor needs of the booming economy brought more Africans to the cities. Following the war, programs were begun to house African workers. Businesses were required to contribute to the development of African townships, thus stimulating the creation of hundreds of thousands of dwellings between 1948 and 1966. In 1959, plans were made to create the self-governing "homelands," and government attention shifted to housing needs in those areas. Between 1962 and 1977, 188,000 houses were built in African homelands as part of a policy to promote settlement there.

Since 1975, greater degrees of self-government have been transferred to community councils in the African communities. For Africans who qualify as residents, it is now possible to gain title to property on the basis of a 99-year lease. As a result, Africans for the first time can have the right of title, and, therefore, can get mortgages to purchase and build homes.

Yet, many problems remain. A housing shortage of crisis proportions looms ahead. Current estimates indicate a shortage of more than 500,000 units of African housing. The government has estimated that 4,000,000 more houses will be needed before the end of the century to provide for the predicted growth in African urban population. Employers are becoming increasingly involved in providing housing. The Urban Foundation, formed by a group of socially conscious white businessmen shortly after the Soweto Riots, has been particularly active in encouraging the investment of private capital to augment public funds for African housing.

Soweto is the largest and best known township. Because of its location outside of Johannesburg and its size, it has more cultural and sports facilities than other townships. Its official population is 600,000, but because of large numbers of illegal residents, informal estimates place its size at 1.2 to 1.5 million. Next to Lagos, Nigeria and Kinshasa, Zaire, it is the third largest African city in Africa. Its roads and services are poor; poverty and crime are prevalent. It is overcrowded, with a housing shortage ranging from 25,000—the official government estimate—to an informal estimate of over 60,000 housing units.

Within Soweto, the vast majority of residents live in poverty, yet some who have benefited from South Africa's prosperous economy have financed nicer houses and a comfortable standard of living. Although housing is monotonous in appearance, it is better than that found in the hillside slums of Rio de Janeiro or Lagos, Nigeria, and the structures themselves are more comfortable than the shanties found in many rural areas throughout Africa. It is especially shocking, however, to visit Soweto for the first time, because the visitor most often drives there from Johannesburg, a great, gleaming, modern city where white South Africans live in comfort.

The average Soweto house is brick. Built during the 1950's or 1960's it has approximately 520 square feet (approximately 20 feet by 26 feet), divided into 3 or 4 rooms including a kitchen. There are inside bathrooms in only 5.8% of the houses and only 12.8% have toilets. Twenty-one percent have running water inside the house and less than 20% have electricity. A standard four room house is usually occupied by an average of nine people, although occupancy of up to 20 has been found. Overcrowding in Soweto has been cited as a primary cause of high levels of psychological and social stress that has caused one of the highest crime rates in the world.

Migrant Life Styles

However hard life might be for the permanent residents of urban areas, the migrant laborer has things even worse. Due to legal restrictions, migrants, most of whom come from so-called homelands within South Africa, cannot become official residents of urban areas. They live in a kind of limbo without their families in single-sex barracks for as long as their labor contracts last. Before a contract can be renewed, they must return to their homeland. In the urban areas, their housing can only be described as minimal. Large overcrowded dormitories, concrete floors, and inadequate toilet facilities make the lives of the migrant depressing and difficult. They often abandon these accommodations to live illegally with wives and children in "squatter camps" which have proliferated around the cities. Squatter camps are usually collections of corrugated tin shanties or wooden frames covered with sheets of plastic without electricity, heat, sewage, or any amenities other than water spigots. Roughly a million Africans and Coloureds live in these illegal areas to escape the poverty of the homelands and the restrictions of life for migrant labor.

For many years, the government's official policy was to eliminate all of the squatters' settlements. In 1978, the Crossroads squatters' camp (outside of Cape Town) was slated to be razed by the

government, but international pressure forced the government to create a new settlement two miles from the original setting. Though new homes were built, there is not enough room for present residents and rents are too high for many of them. In late 1980, the government indicated that it was prepared to accept "a controlled amount" of squatting.

The Homelands

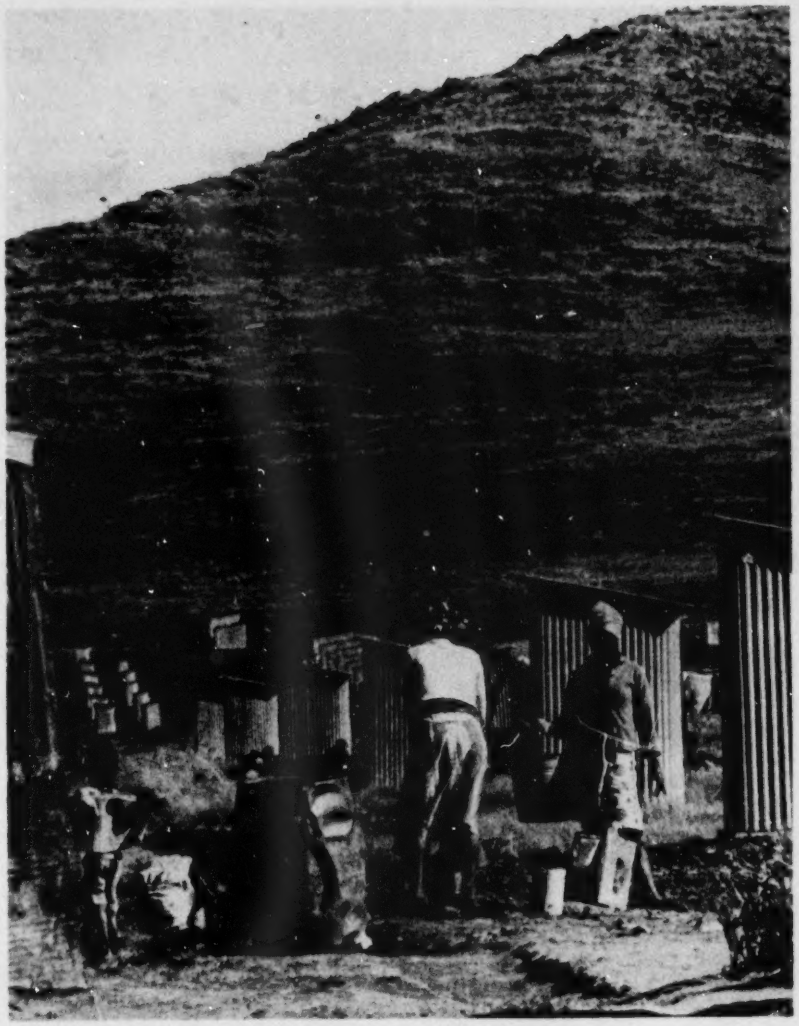
The homelands policy is an ingenious (some say diabolical) part of the government's effort to maintain total control over the mobility of the African population. The ultimate purpose of this policy is to reduce the number of Africans who are technically South African citizens living in parts of the country claimed by whites. It is based on the idea that nearly all Africans who live in white areas are temporary workers. They are classified as citizens of homelands who are considered to have political and civil rights in those areas; the government, therefore, maintains that it is unnecessary for them to have similar rights within the Republic of South Africa. Millions of Africans live in homelands and millions more shuttle back and forth between townships and squatters camps clustered around the cities.

The 10 official homeland areas were established by the government using bits and pieces of land scattered throughout the country. There is very little relationship between the present homelands and the original homes of the African tribes. As a result, Africans may be linked to homelands they have never so much as visited. The homelands policy developed slowly in the early years of National Party rule, accelerated in 1959, and reached its peak with the granting of independence to the Transkei in 1976.

Resettlement

One of the basic aims of the homelands policy has been to reduce the number of Africans living in the parts of South Africa claimed by whites. Programs to achieve this have included economic development of the homelands by the government, expansion of border industries employing commuter labor, greater use of migrant labor, and forced resettlement of Africans from white South Africa to the homelands.

Of these actions, forced resettlement has provoked the most controversy and criticism. The homelands policy to eradicate "black spots" (pockets of African, Coloured and Indian population in white areas) caused the resettlement of almost a third of a million people between 1970 and 1979. Since 1960, resettlement under various policies has uprooted 3.5 million Africans. If the government continues this policy, it will probably entail the relocation of additional millions. The arbitrary expulsion of Africans from the common areas of the country has caused as much human suffering, hardship and despair as any other apartheid measure. The stories of human suffering caused by resettlement challenge any claim of civilized behavior by the South African government.



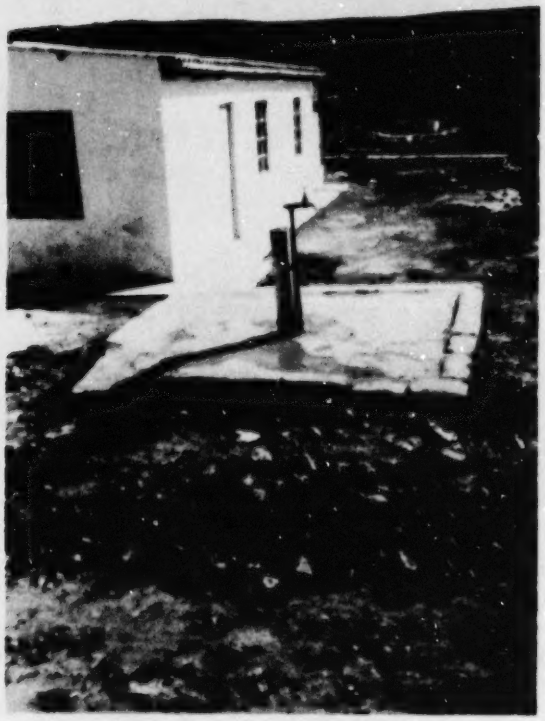
End of the line at a homelands resettlement camp. *(John Seymour/IDAF)*

A father of six who worked as a gardener in Johannesberg returned home to find his house demolished and his family scattered by forced removal. He hanged himself.

In April 1983, Saul Mkhize, a leader in the Transvaal community of Driefontein, was shot dead by a policeman for leading a peaceful meeting held to oppose the forced removal of people who had lived for generations on the same land as self sufficient farmers.

The Fingo people, a community of 500 families, were removed from their own fertile land to two-roomed huts in the Ciskei. When they asked the government for help, they were told they were now residents of a foreign country and would have to go

A newly-constructed dwelling in Soweto.



Neighbors in Soweto share a communal water spigot.

through diplomatic channels.

The petition to the United Nations from the Fingo people expresses the situation very well. In the resettlement areas, the land is mostly poor, fuel harder and harder to obtain, employment opportunities non-existent for most men, malnutrition and disease a growing problem. The able bodied are forced to leave their families to seek work, legally or illegally, in urban areas. The money they send home and pensions of the elderly are the economic basis for survival of these resettled populations.

The homelands are generally poor, with annual per-capita income ranging from a low of $50.00 to a high of slightly over $100.00. Although they are generally thought of as rural, these areas have relatively dense populations. White South Africa has a population density of about 30 persons per square mile, but in the homelands it is between 120 to 170. Although the government maintains that the homelands are to become economically as well as politically independent, few have much potential for economic development. These areas cannot feed themselves and must import foods from outside. A lack of capital and traditional tribal culture also inhibits development. In many areas, land is owned communally, not by individuals.

Underlying the homelands policy is a South African government wish that each will become an independent state completely free to manage its own internal and external affairs. Its citizens would be citizens of the independent homeland rather than the Republic of South Africa. As envisioned, each homeland will go through two phases of development. In the first, each homeland maintains its connection with the Republic of South Africa; in the second, it is declared an entirely independent nation.

Currently, the homelands policy has created four "independent" homelands: Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei. However, it should be noted that no other country in the world recognizes these homelands as independent nations. Four—Lebowa, Gazankulu, QwaQwa and KwaZulu—are in a more preliminary stage and are classed as self-governing territories.

Two, KaNgwane and Ndebele, are at an earlier stage in the process. They only began to organize their governments in the late 1970's.

African opposition, internal skepticism, and other problems have impeded the implementation of the homelands policy. The record of homelands governments in running their local affairs has not been encouraging, civil liberties are not well protected, and official corruption is widespread. All important homeland leaders have rejected South African racism but their attitudes toward separate development vary widely. African leaders also strongly object to the denial of South African citizenship to Africans living in white areas. They assert that it precludes any possibility of fair treatment and participation in the political processes that govern their lives.

The South African government claims that the homelands are a first step toward more equitable political, territorial and economic opportunities for Africans. Many African leaders believe they are barriers to progress, too often giving rise to corruption and the growth of local political elites that, in some cases, cooperate with whites to exploit their own people.

Recent Developments

A South African appeals court recently made an important ruling concerning residential restrictions, and the Prime Minister has decided to let the court action stand. In a unanimous decision by its five judges, the court held that any African worker with ten or more years continuous service with the same employer can become a permanent resident of the city where he works. The court further held that bureaucratic interpretation of influx control should not bar such status.

However, the government will grant residency only if an individual has approved housing, thereby limiting the impact of the ruling.

The ruling was expected to have immediate impact on about 10,000 workers now considered temporary. Working in cities, they must live apart from their families and return year after year to their tribal homelands in order to renew their labor contracts. Until this recent ruling, this break in employment made it impossible for Africans to qualify for permanent resident status in the city, since they were required to have continuous employment. Now, government delays are restricting residency rights of these same people.

The government is concerned that this change of status will increase the flow of Africans to urban areas and is now taking the position that job opportunities within the homelands must be created to encourage their residents to stay and work in their own homelands. Eventually, this court ruling might affect as many as 143,802 African contract workers. Still, it will not permit families to join workers in African townships unless they find approved housing.

The interviews that follow illustrate living conditions and attitudes toward township and homeland life.

For Discussion

1. Compare and contrast "townships," "squatter camps" and "homelands."
2. How do residential restrictions affect migrant workers?
3. What stages does a homeland go through before being considered independent by the South African government?
4. Why do many African leaders oppose the homelands policies?

Sprawling poverty marks much of Soweto.

A Township Teacher

She was born in a mining town in Northern Transvaal. After completing Catholic primary school and teacher training college in Johannesburg, she moved to Soweto where she has been a teacher for 18 years. She is married to a leather cutter and has four children who attend school and live at home.

We are luckier than most families here in Soweto. We bought our home 20 years ago; we got a loan from the Johannesburg city council and now it is all paid off. Today, the housing situation is very difficult. There are no homes available. People move in with their parents, young couples have no privacy, things are very tight. People get frustrated, so the crime rate is high. Plenty of problems revolve around crime. It is not safe to send my daughter to the shops after dark, and I am never at ease until my husband is home again. Anything can happen. I hear there are sometimes three murders a day.

Together, my husband and I make about 780 rand ($975) a month. That is considered a good income for Soweto, but we don't have a savings account. The family has never had a vacation together, because we cannot afford it. I get much of my nicest clothing from a rich Jewish lady when she has a sale.

I teach at a primary school on the grounds of a tuberculosis sanatarium. There have been many changes there. When I first came, all officials were white. Now, they're all black except for the Warden.

Besides teaching, I have the church. I'm not very active in the struggle, I've never had a chance to attend meetings. I'm not used to discussing politics. Informers are one big thing that makes people keep quiet. During the riots, I didn't join any of the black parents organizations. They were all under surveillance. We working parents were the most unhappy, because the children didn't tell us what was going on. After the riots, children's attitudes toward their parents changed.

I've always felt that homeland independence is a mockery. Take Bophuthatswana. All those spots being spoken of as a state. It's ridiculous. The mayor of Soweto just recently said he didn't think blacks wanted majority rule in South Africa. I don't agree with him. But I honestly do see things getting better. I think my children will be living in a different South Africa. The apartheid gap is going to narrow up.

Our children are going to be much nearer to whites than we used to be. For example, take the Toast Mistress Club, a U.S. based international organization. I belong to the first all black chapter in South Africa. All the members live in Soweto. It was started by the Johannesburg chapter. The spirit which prevails is so social, so warm, you even forget you are different colors. We are colorblind there. Before, if I had a white friend and she saw me on the street, she would not talk to me. Now, that's not so.

A Homeland Teacher

The Ciskei, scattered in many pieces in the eastern Cape, was set aside by the South African government for members of its Xhosa speaking population. It is the home of the University of Fort Hare, whose graduates include Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi. There too marked by a stone bearing the slogan "One Azania, One Nation," lies the grave of Steve Biko. A woman from Ciskei has missed her bus and stands with a heavy parcel hoping for a lift to Port Elizabeth. An assistant teacher at a lower primary school that serves a rural community, she lives at the school during the week, returning home to her mother on weekends.

My father was a laborer for many years. He died in 1969. We didn't ask for a pension, so we didn't get one. It is difficult teaching here. There are so many poor children. They are clever but they are hungry. A child can't learn if its stomach is empty. I ask the children who have money to pay 2 cents, and then we buy bread which we share. There are some families who have gone away and left the children alone in the house. There is one family of five very clever children where there are no parents. We teachers give 10 rand each to help them. My pay is 256 rand a month ($320.00) but 42 rand is taken off in deductions. My pension is a Ciskei Government Pension, but if I die my mother and child will get nothing. This year we have finally gotten a raise in our teacher salaries, but we received nothing for the last several years.

The Ciskei voted for independence in December 1980. I hope we do not become independent. Blacks cannot do things properly. It's better to be under the whites, because you know where you are. We blacks are lazy. Take a look at this land. If whites owned it, it would be plowed and things would be growing. Equality is a good thing; we should share everything in this country. That would be better than independence, because blacks can't manage a country like whites can. We are peasants and can never be anything else. With a white government, you get a better chance because you get promotions if you work hard and not because of your relations.

The law is supposed to be here so we can live quietly and not be afraid. We had a burglar in our house, but they told me I was drunk and should not complain about my boyfriend. We chased the burglar out, but he came back the next day to pick up his passbook which he had left. He laughed and told us not to think we could do anything because he was a friend of the policeman. When there is anything I have to go to the police for, I go to the white police in town, because it is much better. They will listen to a person.

Education

'Do you know what **discrimination** *means?' I said to my mother and father. 'Do you know what it does to people...it kills them slowly.'*

—An African Student

Education is a key issue, especially for Coloured, Asian and Africans who are each educated in separate and unequal school systems. Inequalities in education cause deep frustration and discontent among these South African youth. The Soweto uprising of 1976 is the most dramatic evidence of the extent to which educational inequalities provide a focus for African outrage. Widespread school boycotts by Coloured students in 1980 illustrate their deep dissatisfaction with their school system.

The Soweto uprising began peacefully, as have all protests by oppressed racial groups. On the morning of June 16, 1976, 20,000 African students marched through the streets of Soweto on their way to a mass meeting in a nearby stadium to protest a government policy requiring equal use of Afrikaans and English as the languages of school instruction. The students appeared to be "good humored, high spirited and excited." As they approached the stadium, they encountered a large number of South African police who fired on them without giving an order to disperse. One of the first police bullets hit a 13-year-old and then several other youngsters were shot dead.

This event touched off a series of protests and disturbances around the country; Coloureds as well as Africans were involved. Over a period of 16 months, some 700 deaths were recorded, with most of the victims shot by the police. A whole series of school boycotts, strikes, and marches involving tens of thousands of students, the burning or sabotage of government offices and other buildings, and continual conflicts with police illustrated the deep-seated anger that was felt. More recent demonstrations in 1980 gave further testimony to the frustration of African and Coloured students.

One of the key student demands at the time of the 1976 Soweto uprising was for the creation of a single Department of Education for all races. This was a fundamental challenge to the philosophy of apartheid and has met with strong official resistance. The government argues that the gap in academic qualifications of African and white teachers would make it impossible to establish a single education system. The government also claims that to eliminate the disparity between the two systems, it is better to target the African system for special development, since Africans have special educational needs. Thus, they should be addressed as a separate group.

The educational system in South Africa, controlled as it is by government agencies reflecting the philosophy of the Afrikaner, has applied their basic Calvinist doctrine to the creation of an educational system built around a philosophy called Christian National Education. The quality of education offered Africans is totally inadequate, and that available to so-called Coloured and Asian groups is only somewhat better.

White youth in South Africa attend segregated schools. Afrikaans-speaking young people go to schools where theirs is the language of instruction; English-speaking young people attend schools where instruction is offered in their language. This fully segregated system reduces the opportunity for Afrikaner and English young people to develop an understanding of one another, and it's followed even into the college and university level.

The basic world view of Afrikaner education, growing out of the religious teachings of John Calvin and the notion of predestination, begins by looking at the child in a negative way. The child is born into a world of sin and, therefore, needs to be molded by his elders to accept correct doctrine and avoid the pitfalls of temptation. As a consequence, the Afrikaner view produces a much more authoritarian type of education than is found in the so-called English medium schools.

The educational bureaucracy dictates what should be done and believes it should decide who is to be educated to fill what roles in society. This view runs contrary to the English view of education, but increasingly Afrikaans-speaking people, for whom English is a second language, are becoming the teachers in the English medium schools, as well as in their own. This is the result of low pay and the limited opportunities that a career in the Afrikaner-controlled education system provides English-speaking young people. Soon, all white young people are likely to be educated in a system that presents the point-of-view of Afrikaners toward not only education, but broader social issues as well.

In terms of its point-of-view on politics, the English or American notions of rights and responsibilities of the citizen are replaced by privileges and duties. This establishes a point-of-view in which the state is not responsible to the citizen, but the citizen is responsible to the state, a philosophy in which group rights are more significant than individual rights. For the last few years, a special program called Youth Preparedness has been offered to white young people. They attend camps in rural settings where they are inculcated with ideas of civic responsibility and fear of the total onslaught facing them from the Communists outside their borders. Added to this is an emphasis on fresh air, outdoor recreation and environmental concern. Since the political split which led to the creation of the Conservative Party, the Youth Preparedness Camp program has shifted its emphasis somewhat toward outdoor studies, since the political message of the Conservative Party and the National Party are not one.

In the Afrikaner view, issues of historical or political controversy are not raised in schools, since there is no real controversy possible from the established view of the Afrikaner. Education, instead of becoming a more progressive force for change in South Africa may actually retard

Violence during the 1976 Soweto uprising. *(UPI)*

change. Instead of opening up the eyes of students to a broad spectrum of views, it narrows their view.

Segregation in education even extends to sports. South Africans are a sports-happy people. Rugby, the national sport, receives enormous attention and rugby teams from various high schools, whether African, Coloured or white are the pride and joy of their communities. In urban areas, efforts have been made to stimulate competition between schools of different races. In some cases, these efforts have led to the withdrawal of white teams from tournaments. Since there is no racial mixing at the school level, some take the viewpoint that there should be none in sports between schools either. In the Johannesburg area, progress has been made in inter-school sports contacts, but it remains limited and is opposed by Afrikaner leaders.

The racial isolation is a continuing and profound problem. From pre-primary school through the university, South African youth of every race are segregated. The history that is taught emphasizes only the white contribution. The syllabus used to guide instruction in so-called Coloured and African schools does not permit instruction in the history and contribution of other racial groups. Teachers, whose performance is measured by government inspectors, are often too fearful for their jobs to risk any variation whatsoever from the curriculum.

Young people grow up without any experience with members of other racial groups. Because of residential isolation, their only contacts have been limited to passing in the street or in stores and contact which could be described as the master/servant relationship.

Most teachers follow the syllabus, but occasionally Coloured and African teachers provide students with information about their own heritage. A Coloured educator reports, "One teacher finally had too much of the way history is taught in South African textbooks. One day he was teaching about the battle of Blood River and he got to the part where so many Zulus died and so many whites and he said, 'Close those textbooks.' And he threw his textbook out the window and said, 'Let me tell you the facts.' After that lesson, he went to the principal and told him he resigned. He resigned right there and then. He was a dynamic teacher, he was a history specialist, and he left because he had to teach children lies about the past. It can destroy you."

African education in particular is markedly inferior to white education. Physical facilities are poor, textbooks are not equal in quality or quantity, a serious teacher shortage exists, and drop-out rates from African schools are high. Despite the fact that there are four and a half times as many Africans as whites in South Africa, by 1970 there were only 1,400 African university graduates in the total population as contrasted with 104,500 white university graduates. Between 1970 and 1979 the government spent $940.00 for each white child per year, $290 for each Coloured child, and $90.00 for each African child. In short, South Africa's system for educating white students is quite good; its system for educating Africans is not.

At the present time the majority of African teachers have 8th to 10th grade education qualifications and one year of teacher training. Only a handful are university graduates. In 1979, only 2.3% and 4.2% of African and Coloured teachers respectively were university graduates, as compared with 19.4% of Indian and 32.0% of white teachers.

While these educational policies are in keeping with basic government efforts to discourage the development of African leadership, the failure of the government to provide adequate education also significantly effects the potential for economic growth in South Africa. As more highly trained workers are required for economic development, a growing shortage of such skilled labor in the African population will have the direct result of reducing the growth and prosperity of the nation as a whole.

Recognizing the relationship between education and economic growth, the government is beginning to increase African school attendance and improve the quality of education for both Africans and Coloureds. Problems remain. One estimate suggests that if the government is truly committed to improving African education, it must construct more than 186,000 new classrooms by the year 2000. Even if such improvements do occur in pre-collegiate education, significant changes must also take place at the college and university level before Africans and Coloureds can be trained to make a full contribution to South African society.

The University Level

Present practices in African universities indicate that students tend to graduate in such fields as arts, education, and social science rather

than in professional areas such as architecture, medicine, dentistry, engineering, law, agriculture and veterinary science. It is extremely difficult, although not impossible, for outstanding African students to attend white universities. Several, such as Witwatersrand, Cape Town and Natal, essentially English-speaking schools, have special programs to assist students who lack the necessary background for college.

Even when African or Coloured students are able to attend white universities they face serious difficulties. First, it is often their first experience with rigorous academic work and they suffer from poor lower school preparation. Second, they must live in African or Coloured townships, not campus housing, and face continual travel problems and difficulties in finding adequate study surroundings. Third, the psychological issues of being African or Coloured at a white university with inbred attitudes and habits of racial prejudice and superiority make for a difficult adjustment. For example, the University of Witswatersrand, which prides itself for its liberality and makes opportunities available for all other racial groups, has had many adjustment difficulties.

There are some opportunities available for promising Coloured and African students to study in the United States. The director of the Educational Opportunities Council, Dr. M. Mothlabi, believes African students in particular might have an easier time adjusting to study in America than at white universities in South Africa. Cost is a prohibitive factor for any more than a small number of students.

Empty shelves and lack of supplies are problems at many African schools.

Even in African schools, only white history is emphasized.

Recent Developments

Recently the government established a quota system to determine the overall number of Africans that can be admitted to South African universities. The new quota policy was to apply to all universities; however, opposition from the universities caused the government to abandon the plan. As has long been the case, African students can only be admitted to a white university if they first obtain the written permission of the Minister of African Education. The same is true for Asian or Coloured or mixed race students. Afrikaans universities have traditionally supported the government's policy of apartheid and have admitted only a handful of African students.

In 1982, among a total of 36,732 students at the four white English language universities there were 1,138 African students, 1,922 Asian students and 1,468 Coloured students. The remainder—about 87%—were white. The five white Afrikaans-language universities had 210 African, Asian and Coloured students among their total enrollment of 48,828. The English-language universities have condemned the government policy. They argue that although the plan to establish racial quotas may streamline bureaucratic procedures, it should be condemned on moral grounds. James Moulder, Special Assistant in the Office of the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cape Town, said, "Even if the quota allows us to admit 80% Africans, it would be totally abhorrent and unacceptable."

Pressures to improve and upgrade the quality of teaching,

especially in African, but also in Coloured schools, do exist. A few teacher centers, such as the one at Western Cape University, have been established with corporate funding to provide special help. The SACHED Trust provides correspondence instruction that is designed to upgrade and expand teaching skills.

A number of organizations offer free courses in basic reading and writing on weekends. Volunteer students and adults teach these courses which draw wide participation from Africans for whom illiteracy plus pervasive racism create insurmountable problems. There are even magazines published in South Africa designed to help build basic literacy skills.

For Discussion

1. Why is the issue of African education so important for South Africans?
2. What are some current debates about equal education in America? How do they compare to those in South Africa? How are they different?

Race in South Africa

There were twelve in the group, all members of the so-called Coloured racial group. They had come together with their teacher to talk about conditions in South Africa today. They met in a comfortable and nicely furnished house. The discussion turned to the school boycotts of 1980.

The boycott started on Friday the 18th of April, 1980. Initially, it started over a broken window, but it was quite obvious that was not what it was. It had deeper implications. The kids were the ones who were fixing the windows, not breaking them or causing problems. We wanted our schools to provide good educations.

The students got together at our school and decided to meet in the park next to the school. Then we marched to the neighboring high school. It was a beautiful sight, because our students are known for their discipline. So all these people were walking in straight lines with clean, pressed uniforms. When we got to the school, we persuaded the students there to join us. Now we had two schools—close to 2,000 students who were walking to the next high school—when we were stopped by a lot of security police dressed in suits and ties and looking very nice. They sent us back to our school, but we boycotted for a week, then we got together for a huge meeting. We sang songs, people began to make speeches, then we were surrounded by the riot police. They were wearing camouflage uniforms and blank looks on their faces; they had guns, tear gas cannisters and dogs. They locked the gate of the schoolyard, then they scaled the fence, searched the teachers and told us we had 10 minutes to get out of the school. Some left, but about 800 people stayed. They rounded us all up and took us in those big police vans to the police station and locked us up, and there we sat.

Then they decided to give us a trial. We were standing on blankets in cells looking out through the window. All of our parents were waiting to come and see us. Then we saw the dogs were busy with all the people. The police were trying to get women and their children away from the front of the building. We saw police hit a pregnant woman who was carrying a little baby. As she was standing there this man beat her with a baton.

Before our release, we had a trial. They took us into a makeshift courtroom eight at a time. You got a number; if under the age of 18, your parents had to come with you. They gave you a warning. We were brought there about 10 a.m., and the court which they set up had started about 5 p.m. The last person to be released got out at half past five the next morning. It was the first time in South African history that court cases were held around the clock. We kept them up all night.

The boycotting and problems with the schools continued for some time. The police would pick students up and take them in for questioning. Some were detained for weeks; others longer. Some were released and then picked up again. We missed our exams. We had classes during the holidays. Many of our teachers taught us at night in our homes from eight to ten. The whole community was behind us. But our powers are very limited.

My ideas were very different then. I thought that if I clenched my fist and sang the freedom song, I was fine. Now I realize that there is nothing I can do. Our student chairman was detained for something like four months. They sent him to prison; he was 17 years old. After he was released, he was followed. I was detained, too. Then I applied to go to a white university and my role in the boycott counted against it; I was refused. Probably even now if I applied for a visa or a passport I would be refused based on that school boycott.

White High School Students

The setting: A white public high school in Durban, with beautiful brick buildings, a well-equipped library and old school traditions. After a discussion with a group of about 30 students, ages 13 to 19, the American visitor pieces together the following paragraphs.

Well, most outsiders think this place is just all trees and jungles and that we all swing from place to place. I remember some American film star saying that he thought he would be landing on a dust landing strip with lions and animals roaming around the airport. He actually said that. Americans need to know more about our country. But they shouldn't just hear the bad things about us. They don't really hear about a lot of good things that happen here—about the sports and that sort of thing. We need contact with the rest of the world. We can't be isolated just because of our racial status. I think quite a bit of change has occurred here, but I don't think the rest of the world is going to help by continuing the boycott and keeping us isolated.

In December the beaches here are becoming multi-racial. Not all of us like that very much. There are lots more of them than there are of us. Drive along to the present beaches which are for Africans. They arrive there in their busloads. First of all, it's off with their clothes. They wash them in the water—they're in their bras and pants—they have a quick bath, get out, dry off and hang the clothes on the fence by the beach. It's not like our civilization, our culture. I don't know, it's just not done. And if they say that they want to come to us to be more civilized, then they should change to more western ways.

I think the only way that we're going to overcome the race problem is by starting, say, with the year 1990, and from that year on, all the people starting school will be placed in mixed classes. From then on, we would all be brought up together. That's the only way we're going to learn to live together, to all have the proper education and things like that.

As South Africans, a lot of us have gone with our teachers to places like America. There's always this great big kick-back on South Africa racism. We've heard about and seen racism in America, and we know how bad it is there. Surely, those countries should begin in their own backyards putting things right before they start on us here.

Religion

Of course, it is very difficult to reconcile my Christian code with what is happening in this country.

—A Zulu Anglican Priest

I eventually came to the conclusion that the biblical defense and justification of apartheid by the Dutch Reformed Church was untenable.

—Banned Dutch Reformed Minister

Christianity has had a profound influence on the development of South Africa and on its current affairs. The Dutch Reformed Church, which today involves over 90% of all Afrikaans-speaking Afrikaners, formulated a theology during the development of South Africa based on Calvinist doctrine; it held that God had chosen Afrikaners to rule South Africa. The Church saw, in the history of settlement and of the Great Trek, evidence of this selection. As the Afrikaners became more powerful during the period following the Anglo-Boer War, Dutch Reformed pastors worked out more fully a link between the Bible and principles of racial separation. In a way thoroughly compatible with Afrikaner opinion and experience, this racial doctrine became the basis for the political position of the emerging National Party, led by Dr. Daniel Malan, himself a Dutch Reformed pastor.

As the first National Party Prime Minister, Malan was responsible for implementing the policies and securing the passage of legislation establishing the apartheid system. Senior members of Parliament and of the Cabinet have a strong connection with the church. It was this link that helped create a "Christian" country where censorship protected society from immoral books, magazines and movies, and where Sunday was to be a day of contemplation and prayer. Apartheid policies of the government were fully sanctioned by the Afrikaner churches, based on Biblical support for the subordination of the African race to the white. Separate African Dutch Reformed churches were established.

The English-speaking Christian churches—the Anglican, Methodist, Catholic, Congregational, Presbyterian and Lutheran churches—have always openly opposed apartheid in their practices and publications. By the late 1960's, after the government had eliminated all integrated political parties, the church remained the last place where whites and Africans could work together for social change. Africans came to hold important positions in church organizations. For example, by 1980, the South African Council of Churches Board of Trustees was made up of seven African and six white members. The African Dutch Reformed churches joined the Council and the efforts of the Council to support change in the apartheid system led to charges that it was under the influence of Marxists.

By 1978, Anglican Bishop Desmond Tutu had emerged as the key spokesman of the Council of Churches against government policies. As an outspoken and controversial figure, Tutu has been regularly subject to government harassment for his views. The Catholic church has also become an effective voice against apartheid, integrating its own schools over government opposition and elevating Africans to positions of archbishop and bishop. Overall, the English-oriented churches—Anglican, Methodist and Catholic—have helped raise African aspirations and have encouraged the development of a sophisticated African church elite.

Even in the Dutch Reformed Church, internal struggles go on between conservatives and pastors who are unable to continue to support the apartheid policies of the church. An early opponent of apartheid within the church is Beyers Naude. Dr. Naude, a Dutch Reformed pastor and the son of a pastor, became the first director of the Christian Institute of Southern Africa, established in August of 1963. As the head of the Institute, he pointed to the contradictions between Christian principles and apartheid. Dr. Naude defined the Institute as "a fellowship of Christians who seek individually and together to be used by God to give practical expression to a growing desire for fellowship and understanding between Christians in our country."

Dutch Reformed Church in Stellenbosch.

Naude was investigated, tried and finally banned for his opposition to apartheid. In 1982, after five years, the banning was continued for another three. Public indignation put pressure on the government and the terms of banning were made somewhat less restrictive. Still, as a banned person, he is confined to the Johannesburg area and can have contact with only a few persons at a time, including relatives and close friends. He cannot discuss political events publically nor can he be quoted in the press. But for the first time in five years, he can attend social activities with friends and entertain in his own home.

Concern within the church has continued to grow in recent years. In 1982, 123 Dutch Reformed pastors signed a letter stating that the Bible could not be used to justify apartheid. Their action created a major controversy within the church.

Recently, the South African government has begun investigating the South African Council of Churches. The Council provides support for many programs of reform funded by grants and contributions

Beyers Naude *(Ravan Press, Johannesburg)*

from outside South Africa. The Educational Development Council and the Black Sash are two examples. Since these efforts threaten the status quo, they are carefully watched by the government. Church leaders are worried that the Council's funds, 96% of which come from outside of South Africa, might be stopped by the government. The government may become so fearful of the power of the church that it may use its powers to suppress it.

For all of his activism, Bishop Tutu has not been banned. Early in 1980, the government seized his passport. It was restored a year later and recently seized again after he called for a boycott of South African coal while on a visit to Denmark. In 1983, Tutu was again reluctantly granted permission to attend meetings of world church leaders. Presumably, the authorities are exercising caution in treatment of prominent persons like Tutu who are well-known abroad.

The interviews included with this section demonstrate the connection between religion and South African politics.

For Discussion

1. How did the Dutch Reformed Church affect the development of apartheid?
2. Why do English-speaking churches in South Africa serve as a center for protest against government policies?

A Priest

The Zulu Anglican priest makes his way over the railroad tracks that run through the Groutville Reserve, an enclave on the north coast of Natal. He passes the house that once belonged to Nobel Peace Prize winner Albert John Luthuli. Luthuli, who was banned for his role as President-General of the African National Congress, served as a chief in Groutville during the last 17 years of his life. He was killed in a train accident.

"I still feel myself searching for Luthuli's roots." The priest says, "His message is the same message that many of our black men—our men of the church—are saying today. It is what (Bishop Desmond) Tutu is saying."

The parish is large. The priest travels in a battered old car as far as 75 miles into the heart of Zululand. Other days, he drives into the urban township where his cynical parishioners are more concerned with economic problems like employment and housing than with "the white man's religion."

I decided to join the church when I found that my fellow man wouldn't help me, so I went to help other people. I found that I was more than just a preacher. I became a social worker. I prefer to preach in the hills than in the urban townships. People in the township are scattered, divided by petty quarrels. The people in the hills are more united. They will survive longer. In the village, I find people much more receptive to my preaching. I always ask them if they have problems I can help with. Many are women who have husbands working in the city. They only see their husbands once a month, if they are lucky. They come to me with their problems. Maybe I find somebody a house, maybe someone has lost a job and I get them working again.

Many of the people who come to me for spiritual help are on the fence between Christianity and ancestor worship. They're more afraid of death. They need to be told about God. These people are confused. They say, "but this religion came with the white man." I always tell them that Jesus Christ was not white or black. I tell them we've got a black bishop now in Natal and it gives some of them encouragement for the future.

I am a Zulu, but I'm not a member of Inkatha (a political and cultural organization headed by Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu). I haven't joined Inkatha because I haven't really seen its aim. Sometimes I wonder where my work is going to lead me. Maybe I will become a politician like Desmond Tutu or Albert Luthuli and a man of God. It's very difficult to reconcile my Christian code with what is happening in this country. Not unless the black man can be brave enough to tell the white man that we are also made in the image of God, that we are just like you. When people come to me with their problems, they don't say "we must do something about it," they always say, "It's the law, we can't run away from it. We must follow it." They are not brave enough to do what is within them. But I feel that one day, with the help of God, I may be brave enough. I pray a lot to God, and I ask him that there must be love in this country. Right now, I can't say that I find much love here.

A Sunday in Soweto

St. Paul's Anglican Church is not large. It has a tower, but it is really a long shed that holds a congregation of about 350 people. The African priest wears olive-green vestments that match the altar cloth. His acolytes wear red cassocks beneath crisp white surplices. There is an organ, but it is not played. Kneeling pads, squares of carpet really, are handed out randomly as the congregation—all black except for some foreign visitors—file into the church.

The service is simple, multilingual, and moving. In the 2 ½ hour service there are eleven hymns, the number and page being called out in English, Tswana and Zulu. The church throbs with song, deep resonant voices, and wonderful harmony. At times, the congregation sways and claps hands.

The children, many of whom sing without hymnals, are immaculately dressed. Most of them, like the adults, are formally attired.

The sermon, in Tswana, is based on the first chapter of John, the meaning of Passover. There is a message for the white government: "We have our leaders, great leaders, among us. In spite of their rivalry and jealousy, they will show how all God's children should live—not by the color of their skin but as human beings." At one stage there is applause.

The climax of the service comes with the entire congregation singing "Nkosi Sikelela I-Afrika" ("God Bless Africa"), the national anthem of several black African states and a hymn closely associated with the banned African National Congress.

After the collection and a special offering for the unemployed, the congregation dissolves into a milling crowd around the foreign visitors, one of whom turns out to be the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Africa. There is much shaking of hands, touching, smiles, and laughter. "Peace be with you," they say. "Welcome. Peace be with you." There is a sense of resolve, well-being, joy, even exultation.

The churchgoers spill out into the sunlight. The smell of incense drifts after them. Only then is it clear that a generation is missing from the congregation. There are no young people attending service at St. Paul's Anglican Church in Soweto this summer Sunday morning.

Bishop Tutu, the Anglican activist.

An African church during the Soweto demonstrations. *(UPI)*

The Black Challenge

I don't know if blacks are still in an accommodating mood. Young people are very important. That's why, in the long run, I am less optimistic.

—A White Lawyer

Sometimes you see people being treated very, very badly. And if at that moment someone said to me, 'Why don't you cross the border and fight with the guerrillas,' then I'd go and do it, really I would.

—An African Executive

I make my own protest—I refuse to carry the passbook—but as an individual my attitude has no effect on the government. Unless we can do it as a nation, only then can we have any impact. We will do it as a nation.

—An African Worker

Africans in South Africa have been struggling against white domination for a long time. The roots of the 1976 Soweto uprising run back a century when Africans turned from armed resistance of white rule to peaceful petition for equal treatment. Although the strength of black opposition has taken several forms, there has been a steady trend toward more forceful challenge of the white minority.

In 1912, a group of educated members of the small African middle-class, drawing some of their inspiration from Mahatma Ghandi, organized the African National Congress (ANC). The ANC is still the leading champion of African rights. However, over the years many of the most moderate and public-spirited African leaders have disappeared from the scene as a result of repressive policies of the South African government. In 1956, following a national congress which adopted the freedom charter, the government brought treason charges against 156 Africans (mainly ANC leaders) and whites, contending that their efforts to achieve equal rights for all South Africa would "necessarily involve the overthrow of the state by violence."

A New Era of Confrontation

The beginning of the modern era of confrontation took place March 21, 1960, in Sharpeville, an African township near Johannesburg. A large crowd of Africans had gathered as a part of an anti-pass law protest. Although it was an orderly demonstration, police opened fire on the crowd and continued to fire for 10 to 30 seconds as demonstrators fled. Sixty-seven Africans, including women and children, were shot dead; 186 were wounded. Over a three-week period, mass meetings, pass burnings, non-violent marches, refusals to work, and violent reactions by the government brought South Africa to the brink of anarchy. The situation ended only after massive police action by the state. After Sharpeville, both the African National Congress and the Pan-African 1st Congress were outlawed.

In June 1961, Nelson Mandela and other ANC leaders agreed the time had come to fight. Violence was to be limited to attacks on property. Late that year, the ANC and the Communist Party formed a small organization to carry out sabotage. By mid-1963 they claimed credit for more than 70 acts of sabotage. On July 11, 1963 the Security Police captured all of the leaders in Rivonia, a white suburb of Johannesburg. At the end of the trial that followed, Mandela and other leaders were sentenced to life in prison.

In 1968, African and Indian students formed the South African Student Organization (SASO) as a federation of student representatives at African universities. The first president was Steve Biko, a charismatic and able leader. Biko and his colleagues had not always seen violence as inevitable. In March 1973, the government cracked down on the African consciousness movement and banned Biko and seven other leaders. He could no longer speak publicly and was restricted to King Williamstown in the Eastern Cape. There he founded and directed a branch of Black Community Programs until he was barred from such work two years later.

In 1971, SASO described the African consciousness movement as an effort to develop an attitude of mind, a way of life, and group cohesion and solidarity so that blacks could wield the economic and political power that they already possessed. "Black man, you are on your own" was a key slogan. Following the independence of Mozambique and Angola, the ANC established a recruiting network and sent young men through Swaziland and Mozambique for guerrilla training.

In a letter written May 8, 1976, to Prime Minister John Vorster, African clergyman Desmond Tutu, Anglican Dean of Johannesburg, warned that the "blatant injustice and suffering" from government practices would cause "bloodshed and violence almost inevitably." The Prime Minister dismissed the letter as propaganda. The Soweto uprising began June 16, 1976.

After Soweto

Until the Soweto uprising, many older generation Africans believed in peaceful protest and did not share their children's militancy. Parents responded to this event with a mixture of shame for their own comparative docility, pride and bravery at the initiative of their sons and daughters, and rage at the government and the police.

Revolution is in the making in South Africa, but despite the talk of imminent upheaval, it will probably come in the form of undermining and eventually overcoming white power rather than as a single eruption or cataclysmic event. It is true that the rapidity with which nearly uncontrollable disorder can spread and threaten to immobilize the economy has been demonstrated on a number of occasions. Still, it is difficult to envision a revolutionary turn-over in power in the absence of a largely unified, well-organized and well-run movement. Such a movement has yet to develop and at present probably could not be sustained. In 1980, Bishop Tutu, by then the Secretary General of the South African Council of Churches, envisioned Nelson Mandela as Prime Minister within 5 or 10 years. Leaders of the ANC are preparing for a longer effort.

Although Sharpeville was

followed by a period of quiet activism, the post-Soweto years have been marked by the resurgence of the underground ANC and by growing radicalism evident in the waves of strikes and boycotts. Concerned with its international reputation, the government has attempted to temper its power with restraint. Still, it has intimidated African political opposition with warnings, surveillance and limited restrictions. It has incapacitated organizations by detaining individuals who appear threatening.

Since the death of Steve Biko at the hands of Security Police, there were no other deaths of prisoners while in custody, until the recent death of the white union organizer, Neil Aggett. Biko's death on September 12, 1977 is considered by many observers to have been a tragedy, since his potential for leadership was great.

ANC leader, Oliver Tombo *(UPI)*

Two Leaders

Any discussion of African leadership must begin with Nelson Mandela of the ANC. His long imprisonment has made him a shadowy figure for the younger generation, but he remains a symbol of the historic aspirations of all leaders who have been silenced. Even Africans not as committed as he is to aggressive actions support his leadership.

Nelson Mandela was one of the first African lawyers in South Africa. Besides practicing law in the early 1950's, he became active in the African National Congress (ANC). It had been founded in 1911 "for the purpose of creating national unity and defending the rights and privileges of all South Africans." Though he worked for a time for one of the most progressive Johannesburg law firms, he was constantly reminded of his status as an African when his law firm gave him a special cup from which to drink his tea.

In 1956, Mandela was among 156 supporters of the ANC who were arrested and tried for High Treason. The trial lasted over 4 ½ years and finally, in 1961, the defendants were found not guilty. The judges came to the conclusion that the ANC's policy was not to overthrow the State by violence. Mandela himself has testified that the ANC was committed to non-violence.

The bloody aftermath of Sharpeville in 1960. *(UPI)*

Shortly thereafter, Mandela called for a general work stoppage to protest the establishment of the country as a Republic with no representation of Africans. He was arrested and again put on trial. Mandela handled his own defense, in which he challenged the whole legal system that was trying him. He stressed that he held the magistrate personally in high regard and regretted using the terms "white man" and "white people" since he disliked racism in any quarter. But he went on to say that it was wrong for whites to act as judges in their own cause. He stated; "the white man makes all the laws. He drags us before his courts and accuses us and sits in judgment over us. I detest most violently the set-up that surrounds me here. This should not be. I should feel perfectly at ease and at home with the assurance that I am being tried by a fellow South African who does not regard me as an inferior entitled to a special kind of justice."

Mandela refused to testify in his own defense, as this would have been inconsistent with his challenge to the court's legitimacy. His challenge was rejected and he was sentenced to five years in prison.

Within 15 months time, Mandela

Steve Biko *(Wide World Photos)*

Gatsha Buthelezi *(Wide World Photos)*

was back on trial, this time for his life. A police raid on a house in 1963 had led to the capture of a number of ANC leaders and the discovery of incriminating documents in Mandela's handwriting. This and other evidence would be used to support the charge that Mandela and a number of ANC leaders had changed their thinking, and were now involved in planning violent acts for promoting change in South Africa. Mandela explained this as being a result of the government's use of force to crush opposition.

During his third trial, Mandela stated to the courts that:

"We felt that without violence there would be no way open to the African people to succeed in their struggle against the principle of white supremacy. All lawful modes of expressing opposition had been closed by legislation. We had either to accept a permanent state of inferiority, or defy the government. Basically, we fight against two features which are the hallmarks of African life in South Africa and which are entrenched by legislation—these features are poverty and lack of dignity. Above all, we want equal political rights, because without them our disabilities will be permanent. During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to the struggle of the African people...against racism....I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society....It's an ideal which I hope to live for and achieve, but if need be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."

After months of trial, Mandela was in 1971 and sentenced to life in prison where he remains today. Mandela's trials were widely reported in newspapers in South Africa and around the world. His wife has been banned and lives in a remote rural area. His daughter continues to be active politically. Although now 65, there are many who still believe that the white government has not heard the last of Nelson Mandela.

Gatsha Buthelezi is also a force to be reckoned with. A descendent of Zulu nobility, he is a "traditional" leader who operates under separate development as Chief Minister of the KwaZulu Homeland. To a large extent, he is in a class by himself. He has organized a political movement, Inkatha, whose membership exceeds that reached by the ANC at its height. Throughout the 1970's, he was one of the dominant political figures in South Africa. He regularly made headlines at home and also attracted attention with frequent trips abroad, including many to the United States. By 1980, he had lost some of his support, but as the leader of the largest single ethnic group in South Africa—the Zulus—he remains an important figure. Often his statements stress accommodation and negotiation instead of confrontation and violence. While his positions are complicated and contradictory, he remains an extremely important figure.

Buthelezi won an early reputation as an African Nationalist. He was a member of the ANC, and in 1950 he was expelled from Fort Hare College for taking part in an ANC student boycott. At various times he has made statements supporting majority rule in an undivided South Africa. In 1977, after the government crackdown on African activists, Buthelezi seemed to accept the necessity of violence to achieve change. A short time later, he was quoted in the newspaper in support of international sanctions against South Africa. On other occasions he takes positions that support accommodation. Buthelezi appears unpopular with many young urban activists who see no hope in accomodation. Most recently, however, he has spoken out strongly against the new constitution approved in the November 3, 1983 referendum. He remains a key leader and his political position regarding the government established by the new constitution will be a vital factor in the years ahead.

Trends for the Future

There are six major trends in the black challenge to white authority that can be stated with almost equal assurance.

1. *Acceptance of revolutionary violence.* There is a growing belief that fundamental change will only come about through revolutionary violence.
2. *Growing interest in radical ideology.* Since 1976, young blacks have become more interested in discussing Marxism, Socialism and class analysis.
3. *Widening Coloured militancy.* Militancy is growing among all South

Africans. Coloured militancy was evidenced recently and dramatically by the upheaval in mid-1980 of the Coloured townships near Cape Town, where Coloureds outnumber whites by more than 3-to-1.

4. *Growing African unity.* There is a narrowing of the gap between African students and their parents, African students and workers, and among Coloureds and Africans, and Indians and Africans.

5. *Growing political importance of African workers.* Many observers rate African trade unions as potentially the most powerful force for radical political change. Their reach is still very limited. Although membership in African unions has been growing, only about 2% of the African work force is unionized. Nevertheless, significant changes are occurring. African workers are moving into higher skilled jobs, they are better educated, more militant, and more politically aware.

6. *Resurgence of the African National Congress.* As South Africa enters the '80s, perhaps the most dramatic trend in black politics is the resurgence of the African National Congress. The ANC's renewed prominence was symbolized on the night of June 1, 1980, by the glow from burning SASOL Oil coal plants. They could be seen by the people in Johannesburg some 55 miles away. Infiltrators had cut through security fences and shot one guard in the course of a coordinated effort to sabotage three plants.

Furthermore, even though the ANC has consistently declared that it rejects violence, recent events indicate a shift in the strategy of the organization. On May 20, 1983 a massive car bomb exploded outside Air Force Headquarters in Pretoria, killing 17 people and wounding 188. A few days later, Oliver Tambo, the exiled president of the ANC, appeared to confirm a drastic change of tactics for the organization when he said at a news conference in Nairobi, "We have offered the 'other cheek' so many times there is no cheek left to turn." Whether or not the ANC can or will turn to an aggressive campaign of urban terrorism is not clear. However, the use of violence and counter-violence by the ANC and the Security Forces of the Republic of South Africa have the potential of further polarizing the situation in South Africa and making any movement toward accommodation more difficult.

As many as 8,000 young Africans are believed to be in training outside South Africa, mainly in Angola, but also in the Soviet Union, Tanzania and elsewhere. East Germans do much of the instruction. Infiltrators need not be armed when they return home. Large caches of weapons are available and are periodically unearthed by the police. Such caches are supplied by thefts from the well-armed white population.

At the present time, the whole apparatus for curbing dissent, including the Internal Security Act, detention and bannings, prevents issues from even being raised by African leadership. The power of the government to repress dissent and its willingness to act quickly make it extremely difficult for effective African leadership and unity to develop.

For Discussion

1. What is the ANC? Why is it important?
2. Was Mandela's challenge of the legal system a correct one? Should the judge have agreed with Mandela and dismissed the case? Why or why not?
3. Do you believe Mandela was correct in concluding that violence was the only way for Africans to achieve equality and justice in South Africa? Could there not be any other way to reform the legal system?
4. What events and trends can you cite as evidence of greater African militancy in South Africa?

Isolated Robben Island, a maximum security prison off the coast of Cape Town.

Nelson Mandela *(Wide World Photos)*

Daily Life for South African Blacks

Commissioners Courts

The report below illustrates an essential element of life for South African blacks, whose every movement is regulated by the government. It is excerpted from a Black Sash report. Black Sash, a voluntary group of white women, works continuously to call the attention of white South Africans to the conditions faced by the other racial groups and to provide advice to Africans in trouble with the law. Africans taken before the Commissioner Court are charged with being in an area without permission (in this case the Cape Peninsula) for longer than 72 hours; traveling without a pass book or travel document, being without a proper lodging permit.

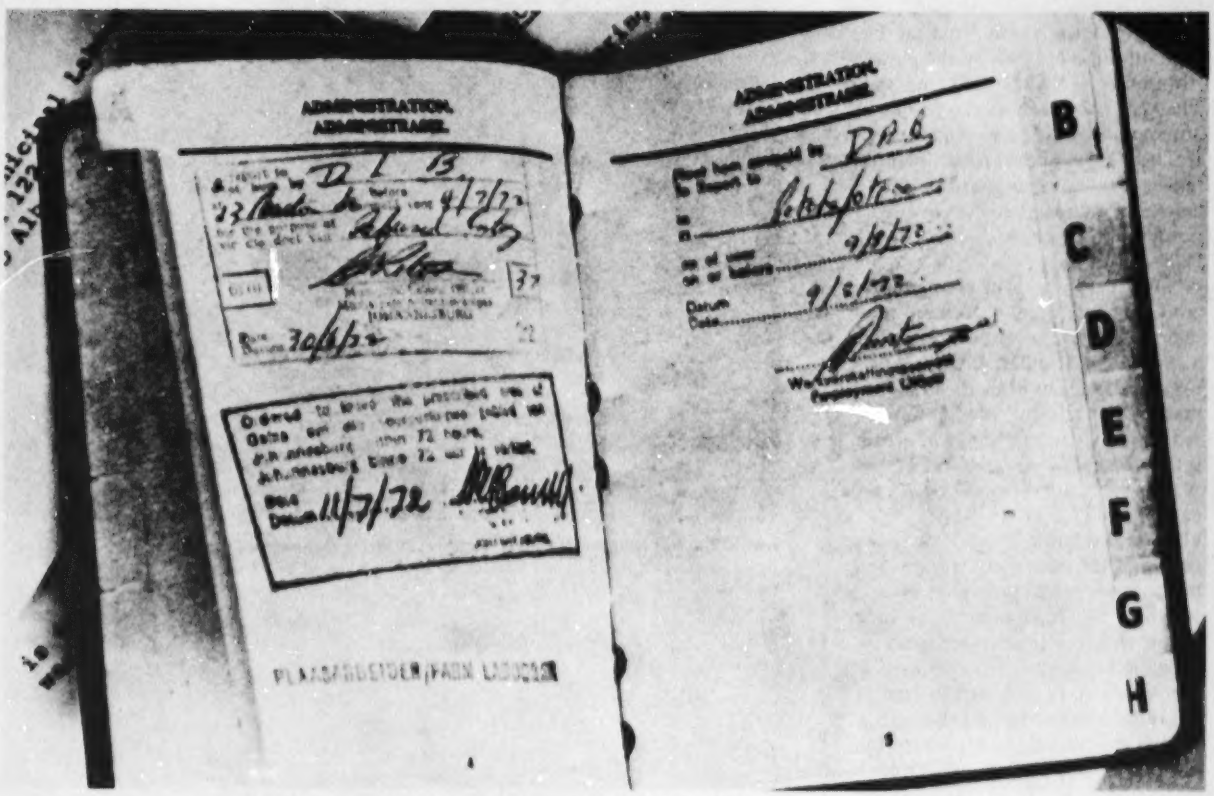
The Lanca Pass Court—A Daily Cape Town Reality

Until recently, two courtrooms operated at Langa. One of the two is currently occupied by the social workers in the employment of the Department (their offices at the Department's building were devastated by a bomb in December 1981).

The court convenes at approximately 11 a.m. and sits into the afternoon, depending on the number of cases. The cells in which the accused are held are next to the court room. The jangling of keys and clanging of the cell door continues throughout the procedure. The court sergeant usually lines up five or six accused at the court door.

Children often accompany their accused mothers, who are kept in the cells until they are called. The crying of the children in the cells can be heard in the court. These cases seem to be kept until later in the court proceedings, presumably in the hopes that our observers and/or any press reporters will leave before these women appear, with their children either in the arms, tied to their backs or walking into the dock with their mothers.

The court room is small and stuffy. It has a highly polished tile floor on which it is easy to slip. Whilst their mothers are cross-examined, the children sometimes wander around the court room, often bewildered, then slip when they return hurriedly to their mothers' skirts for protection. The crying and restlessness of the children all adds to the tension in the court. The accused assume differing postures in the dock—some



A "pass book." *(United Nations/ W. Reynor)*

bewildered, unsure; others turn to scan the faces in the court room for reassurance that a relative or friend is there to pay the fine. Some clearly feel contempt for the indignity to which they have been subjected, but many try to put on a brave front. Still, from where our court visitors sit, one can see knees knocking and trousers and skirts trembling. Some sob quietly in the dock or seek sympathy by wailing.

The accused are old and young, men and women, teenagers, school children, the employed and the unemployed, those with excuses and those without, mothers and fathers, some physically or mentally unwell, and some in mourning. The stories of mitigation sometimes have substance, and sometimes obviously reflect the advice of those who have been through the mill before. Some have nothing to say—they just accept this as one of the hazards of surviving (i.e., living in Cape Town rather than dying in the Transkei). The daily round and common task taken for granted as part of life for those of us who are white forms the substance of evidence submitted by the accused in mitigation of sentence.

Few are defended. Those that are defended generally have suspended sentences or reduced fines imposed upon them.

The average case takes 2-3 minutes from start to finish. For many, the rapid process from arrest to sentence and paying the fine suits them. It enables them to return to their employment without losing more than a day at a time. There is, in this reporter's view, very little if any deterrent value either in the existence of the influx control machinery, or in the sentences meted out.

Sentences most commonly given at present are R70 or 70 days for contravention of Sec. 10(4), R10 or 10 days for contravention of Sec. 15(1) and R10 or 10 days for contravention of Reg. 19(3) of Chapter 2.

A woman who appeared in the court on 1/3/82 was convicted for the fifth time. She was accordingly given a sentence of:

a. R90 or 90 days [Sec. 10(4)] *plus*
b. R20 or 20 days [Sec. 15(1)] *plus*
c. 60 days with no option of a fine.

A typical morning in court within the space of 1 and ¼ hours was as follows:

- 26 people appeared and were charged;
- the average time per trial was 2½ minutes;
- nobody was represented by an attorney;
- a total of R1 470-00 was imposed by way of fines, or the equivalent number of days in prison;
- one suspended sentence was imposed. (24/02/1982)

It is estimated that 45% of those convicted pay their fines, while the rest serve their sentences at Pollsmoor Prison.

Africans seeking help from the Black Sash.

Black Sash worker

The Potential for Change

The blacks have exactly the same complaints as the Afrikaners had under the British. We don't seem to remember our own history.

—White Investment Banker

What is the potential for reform in South Africa? Because of its political grip on the nation, the National Party must be the source for change if change is to come. Although the Afrikaner culture and religious organizations retain great influence, they are not as powerful as they once were.

In economic affairs, the rise of Afrikaner capitalism has lessened the old English dominance of the market place. White farmers, traditionally the most conservative element in the National Party, now carry less weight with the government. As urbanization advances, the huge, more moderate Afrikaner bureaucracy continues to gain influence. Looming large as a force for change is the rapidly growing corporate sector, both English and Afrikaner. These trends have led to a greater similarity in attitudes between the two groups, though on certain issues significant gaps remain.

Underlying all South African realities is the deeply held white belief in racial superiority and the fear of the enormous African population and of the consequences of African rule. Prime Minister Botha has provided the appearance of a commitment to change. Instead of establishing his Cabinet based on the highly conservative inclination of Parliament, he has appointed ministers personally loyal to him and with more enlightened views than the traditionalists who control the National Party caucus in the Parliament. Pragmatic, rather than liberal, the position of the Cabinet is to favor a strategy of tightly controlled change.

Genuine reformers make up only a tiny segment of the Afrikaner community. They are most numerous in the academic world and are found to a lesser extent in the churches, the press, and the military. Not a single member of the Cabinet and only a handful of the Parliament could be

Although hopes run high, South Africa's potential for change is uncertain. *(United Nations Photo)*

Afrikaner-English Views on Key Issues (1977)

	Percentage Agreeing	
	Afrikaners	*English-Speakers*
Admission of blacks to the same jobs as whites	62	85
Equal salaries for whites and blacks	62	83
Blacks and whites together on sporting teams	61	92
Admission of blacks to white sporting facilities	40	81
Blacks and whites worshipping together in the same churches	32	88
Admission of blacks to all cinemas, theaters, etc.	28	65
Abolition of the Immorality Act	23	58
Permission to blacks to attend certain white schools	19	69
Use by blacks of white recreation areas	19	53
Permission to certain blacks to move into white residential areas	18	53

classed as genuine reformers. Still, their significance is greater than their number would suggest. The fact that they exist at all holds out promise for a genuine dialogue between the center and those who favor genuine reform.

The potential for revolution is present. The growing political sophistication among African leaders and allegiance to African consciousness are extremely important. The expanding level of frustration in the African community leads some observers to believe that South Africa is on the verge of revolution. Other observers believe the country is more pre-revolutionary and think widespread violence is threatening, but is not likely to become revolutionary. A lack of real unity among African leaders and the enormous gulf between educated urban and rural Africans would make cohesive action difficult to implement.

The government appears to have ample power to ruthlessly repress any revolutionary African movement. The political system is supported by a substantial military and the government would be able to mobilize at least 400,000 men to suppress any major disturbance. Since the geography does not lend itself to guerrilla tactics, there is little likelihood that a guerrilla war could be successful within South Africa. In addition, neighboring countries are substantially dependent economically on South Africa and are aware that they can expect retaliation from South African forces if they actively support any military action within its borders.

Headlines describe outcome of Parliamentary debate on the new constitution.

White Perceptions of the Consequences of Changes (1977)

	Percentage Agreeing	
Type of Change	*Afrikaners*	*English-Speakers*
The order and security of our society would be threatened.	80	50
The jobs and work security of whites would be threatened.	37	29
The incomes and standard of living of whites would be lowered.	34	42
The way of life and culture of whites would have to change.	18	46
The language and culture of the Afrikaner would be undermined.	14	9
Whites would intermarry with blacks.	9	6
No serious or permanent dangers would exist for whites.	3	9

Policies Affecting Change

As a result of three recent regional elections, Prime Minister Botha and the National Party received the encouragement they needed to push on with plans for some sharing of political power. Most important is the creation of a new constitution recently ratified by 66.3% of white voters which will provide Coloureds and Asians with a small, but possibly significant, share of political power.

The referendum also serves as an indicator of white attitudes toward power sharing. The large pro-government vote shows the vast majority of white South Africans approve of the present pace and scope of government plans. This reform program will not share power with Africans—who the government claims have full political rights within their own Homelands under the Separate Development Policy. The government also maintains that in urban areas Africans will be given a measure of local autonomy through elected councils. However, urban African leaders have campaigned hard against cooperating with what they consider to be phony efforts by the government to involve them. As a result, in recent township elections only 16% of those eligible actually voted. Considering the recent court decisions which have made it legal if no easier for African urban dwellers to establish permanent residency, over time these trends may promote true power sharing. However, only if the government moves more quickly to grant still further opportunities for true political participation will a crisis be avoided.

It is important to recognize that the government has an important capacity to shape white opinion, especially that of the Afrikaners. Henry Lever, an authority on South African public opinion, comments: "When the government takes a lead, the opinions of the electorate fall into line." In general, English speakers are ahead of the government in their willingness to desegregate society. Surveys also indicate that the National Party would not lose significant backers if they moved

toward less racist policies. While such a shift would not be politically easy, it is possible. True change will come if the National Party leadership works to persuade its own political power base rather than to simply represent its views.

Some observers believe this type of leadership will not be provided by the ruling party. They believe the government intends to concentrate its power and carry out the separate development program, including vastly increased amounts of resettlement of Africans in the homelands. They doubt if Africans will ever be given a share of power under the present government.

Others familiar with South Africa believe the new constitution and the large vote for ratification now provide the government with the opportunity needed to move rapidly toward significant reform. First, they say, Coloureds and Asians will be included in government and later, Africans will be provided with a role in political affairs. Based on past performance, the more pessimistic view seems most likely to occur.

For Discussion

1. What is the position of Prime Minister Botha and his Cabinet on the issue of greater political participation by non-whites?
2. What factors exist in South Africa which inhibit the growth of an African revolutionary movement?
3. How might the newly proposed constitution increase the political participation of Coloureds and Asians? Why are Africans excluded?

An English Activist

Inside an office in a large modern building, which has been well worn over twenty or so years, sits a white woman. The main entry room is filled with blacks seeking help in understanding how government rules affect their lives. There must be at least 50 waiting silently on rows of benches. The English woman is straight forward, almost blunt.

I was born here in South Africa and lived here nearly all my life. I got active with this group about 20 years ago. This organization has always been activist, which I like. It was the only thing to do since I'm not really a person who could be active in a political party.

I very much value political liberties which have survived better in capitalist countries on the whole. But in this country, working in a political party means working in the white community and you have to compromise all sorts of things for votes. Besides, you don't change attitudes by talking to people. Attitudes change when the structure changes. Then, it's remarkable how fast.

I look very carefully at whether the law is a useful strategy in fighting this government. Moving to make the government obey their own laws simply has not worked, because they have bent the law or obstructed it quite successfully. We actually think things are getting worse. The one thing that cheers me up at the moment is that the political situation is more fluid than it's ever been. All over the country, things are breaking up.

People need to know that 3.5 million Africans have been removed from where they were living and put someplace else. That is a most staggering, absolutely staggering thing.

I don't think there will be a new government unless there is a miracle—unless the African organizations become united and effective. It could happen, but everything is too spasmodic. Of course, if things go as in my most pessimistic moments, I think a long and drawn out civil war is inevitable. At the end of it, the chances are it will be the whites who will be deprived of their rights as a minority group.

Peaceful change or disciplined non-violent action to bring about change to me is so important because of the end that you reach. Violent means tend to produce a very violent and oppressive society at the end of it. And, this is my big anxiety, the longer it takes, the worse the situation will be at the end of it.

An Afrikaner Student

The student is seated on the terrace of a beautiful restaurant just half a mile from Stellenbosch University near Cape Town. It is a warm, late winter afternoon. The beauty and serenity of the setting tend to blur the realities of South African life. The product of a progressive Afrikaner education, the student freely expresses his views.

I think it is too early to criticize the homelands policy. It's only an experiment. I think it might be a solution, but I don't know. But it is one of the ideas to keep numbers out of the urban centers. I think at the moment our government is doing the best that can be done. It is such a difficult situation and no one has come up with any other solution. Besides, our leaders have more information than I do—they must be right. Blacks have had very little opportunity for education. But, also they haven't got the same needs as we do. Without white intervention they wouldn't even be aware of change. Even here, in 300 years they haven't been developing. The average black person has far less aspiration than the white person the same age.

They have lived so long in such wild stages in South Africa. They are used to living in mud huts. They grew what they needed to eat and sat in the sun. Then suddenly they were forced to adapt and that caused much trouble. A lot of people exploited them. People congregate to their own kind, naturally. We just made a mistake here and put separation down in legal form and through that it has become unfair.

I think the big businessman and the normal working man wants peaceful change. It's the black and Coloured students, the young people, because of outside influences, who push too hard. That's why the government retaliates and creates these security laws which are totally unfair.

I don't think the average student is very interested in politics. We may be the minority, but we don't feel like it. You don't actually meet many blacks. In a sense, it's understandable that they do feel frustrated. But, the moment we give them the law this will become another Zimbabwe or Zambia. You always come back to the main point—who has to rule

the country? I think there it is just a question of survival. I would not like to see a black government. I would like to see more participation, but I don't see how.

Coloured Law Students

The law school was very modern and attractive. The students had gathered to talk with the American visitor, and they did so with passion. Where is South Africa headed? How will the new constitution affect their life? What should American students know about South Africa?

We are young, frustrated people. Opportunities we have we grab, and we just about manage. We worked very hard to get where we are with very little financial assistance. Everything is just about against us. When we think of America, we see fancy schools with fancy people and money. We don't know that kind of life. There are very few people here that reach any kind of middle class life. There are very few of *our* people who reach any kind of middle class life. We are retarded as students; we are limited in our academic life. The government decides what we can learn and what we cannot. In my sister's textbook, there was something on Nehru, for instance, but there was a little thing in brackets in the book saying this is not for Coloured schools. They do Ghandi, but they skip Nehru and they go on. If you compare a white 16-year-old to a Coloured 16-year-old, or even worse, an African 16-year-old, you can immediately put them into little compartments. They mold us into what we are to become based on different kinds of education.

People abroad have the idea that Africa is a land that is unclaimed and wild, where people are still living in a kind of period from history. First, you must divorce those ideas from their minds. You must say, "This is what Africa is today." It comes from the influence of the British. We are looking forward with the greatest enthusiasm towards change in South Africa. I think it is pending, and we expect it very soon. What the government is now doing is that they've been pushed into a corner to such an extent that they are showing the world that they are bringing about reform. In fact, these reforms mean nothing. In the first place, they are going to have a white president who will have absolute power. The black person is being left out. If you are African, to come to Cape Town you have to have a passport and things in your terms of employment to allow you to live here. The new constitutional proposals are designed to break the unity among the so-called Coloureds, Indians and Africans. I think the motivation behind these proposals is to apply for time.

As long as apartheid remains strong, Africans and whites can only dine together at "international" restaurants. *(UPI)*

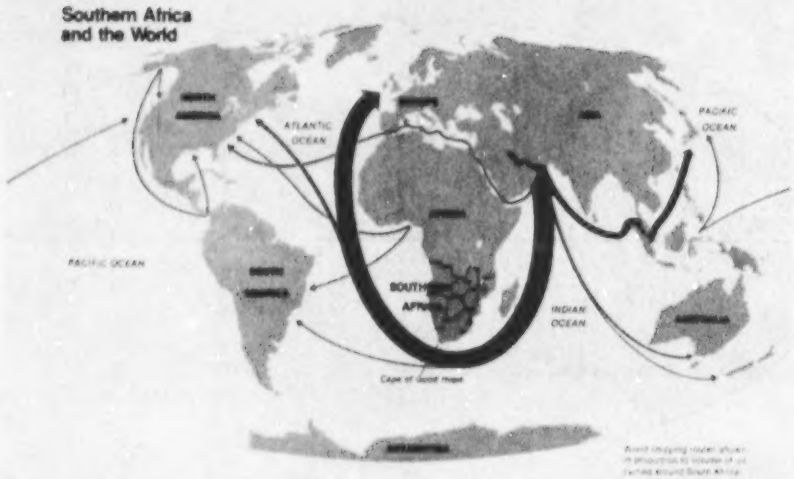
What is very spoiling is the fact that there is no racial interaction between whites and non-whites. They have successfully tried to break the unity between groups. We don't even have a natural foundation between whites and people of other colors. I can go into a white school, and to me it would be alien territory. How do you speak to these white kids! And yet, we are the same—we are the same age, we've done the same things. Apartheid has worked; no experience of any kind exists between people of different colors. Whites really don't know how we are or how we live. They have a perverse view of us.

I think before you can form an opinion about somebody, you must see what that person is like. Like we were taught that African people are stupid, and that's just not the case. You must first get to know a person and see what he stands for. That's where they got this perverse view of it. The government has successfully got this picture of what people are like, and nothing gets put to young people at pre-primary school. They are isolated. They learn about their own life and their own culture. White life, white South Africa, nothing else. They don't step into the political side. They don't inform high school students about political life in South Africa. Because as soon as they start thinking, the child responds. Let them believe what they think is going on, but don't make it clear to them. I don't think it has worked only with whites.

We talk about how the party policy has worked with whites. I think that it has been just as successful with Coloureds and Indians and Africans, because I think you will find the same—each one of those groups also keeping aloof to itself. And there's a kind of suspicion in the way in which they regard other non-white groups. I have a white friend, but it's on a very superficial level; it's not natural. I can go to her house and I will be able to walk through the rooms not feeling anything. I would actually be very uncomfortable.

The future holds disaster for us. In about 15 years, I think there will be urban terrorism everywhere. I think these new constitutional proposals are going to escalate sabotage, urban terrorism, everything except reform. By placing the African people in the homelands I think the government has taken a lot of the "oomph" out of any disaster which there can be. Among the young people, you have a lot of unrest and feelings of this isn't the way it should be. But among the older, more subtle generation you have apathy toward politics.

The Wider Stage



Courtesy Foreign Policy Study Foundation, Inc.

The nations of the Third World, the Communist bloc and the West all condemn the apartheid policies of South Africa. No nations are more vehement on the issue than South Africa's neighbors, the African states. This attitude is reflected in official African policy as expressed through the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.). It is to "isolate South Africa both politically and economically," with the goal of forcing South Africa to change its policies.

Guided largely by the OAU position, African states, whatever their political and ideological differences, have tended to vote as a bloc in the United Nations on issues involving South Africa. They have spearheaded efforts resulting in South Africa's withdrawal from the British Commonwealth and its exclusion from the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and other technical and scientific bodies. African states also worked for South Africa's suspension from the World Health Organization (WHO) in 1964. (South Africa is currently a member of WHO but is denied full participation.)

Since the establishment of the OAU, resolutions calling for commercial and political sanctions against South Africa have been introduced regularly at the United Nations. In 1970, the OAU began a campaign for an effective arms embargo against South Africa. This embargo was made mandatory policy by the Security Council in 1977. In the mid-1970's, the OAU sought to establish, through a number of resolutions, a connection between the Israeli and South African governments. African states hoped to enlist Arab and other oil producing and exporting countries' support in their campaign against South Africa. In 1973, OPEC imposed an oil embargo against South Africa. In later years, the OAU set up committees whose purpose was to find ways of making the oil embargo more effective. In 1976, the OAU condemned France for its sale of nuclear reactors to South Africa. They also passed a resolution that effectively interrupted South Africa's participation in international sports events, including the Olympics.

African states have regularly introduced resolutions at the United Nations calling upon all governments—especially those of the United States, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Japan, and other industrialized countries—to adopt measures to stop new investment in South Africa and withdraw existing business. In their campaign against South Africa, these countries have given moral and material support to nationalist liberation movements. The OAU established the African Liberation Committee (ALC), and in 1970 recognized the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan-Africanist 1st Congress (PAC). ANC and PAC have been outlawed in South Africa because they support equal rights for blacks, through armed struggle if necessary.

The support of the nationalist liberation movements has not been successful for a number of reasons. In some cases, South Africa has been able to make up for lost resources by internal means. For example, in reaction to the international arms embargo, South Africa developed its own arms industry even to the point now of exporting some military equipment. Also, South Africa still enjoys significant economic ties with the United States, Japan, and Western European countries.

In addition, South Africa has expanded its economic ties with African States. For example, South Africa's closest neighbors are Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. These so-called "frontline" states, like the rest of Africa, are vehemently opposed to apartheid and are committed to OAU policies. However, the economic realities of the region make effective isolation of South Africa nearly impossible.

It is also generally accepted as fact that the South African government continually engages in political, economic and military subversion in the frontline states in an effort to destabilize governments and economies to prevent successful development of governments which oppose South African racial policies. If successful, these efforts might even lead to the establishment of governments controlled by the South African government.

Through trade, South Africa provides many of its neighbors with food, electrical power, and manufactured goods. South Africa also controls much of the region's transportation system and major sea ports. The frontline states provide South Africa with major markets and a significant part of its labor force (more than 40% of the total mining work force). So interdependent is the region that attempts to isolate South Africa through boycotts or embargoes damage many of the African states as much or more than South Africa. In recent years, South Africa has tried to establish even closer trade ties with surrounding states hoping to benefit not only economically, but politically as well.

Prime Minister Pieter Botha and his Foreign Minister Pik Botha. *(UPI)*

Relations with Other Countries

Western nations have come under increasing pressure to be responsive to African initiatives on South Africa. The United States is no exception. Because the African and Third World nations often vote as a bloc, they have effective control of the General Assembly of the United Nations on issues relating to South Africa. At times, the United States and other western nations have opposed these actions. African-led efforts to expel South Africa from the United Nations were frustrated by the Security Council vetoes by the United States, France and Great Britain in 1974. Such confrontations create tensions between African states and the West. These tensions, however, do not mean that the western nations support the South African apartheid policies.

The nine members of the European Economic Community (EEC) have taken a strong official position condemning the apartheid system and calling for the South African government to bring about rapid and fundamental change. With three-times the trade of the United States in South Africa, the EEC represents a powerful lobby. The Japanese government is even more severe in its criticism of apartheid than Western Europe. Many trade restrictions exist, but even so, Japan is South Africa's fourth largest trading partner.

Great Britain is the nation with the strongest historic and economic links with South Africa. Yet, Britain also has strong links with other African countries, especially those that were former British colonies. It has no wish to antagonize these important trade partners in Africa; neither does it officially want to reduce British investments in South Africa. Its principle objective is to avoid making any formal policy choice.

West Germany follows the United States as the leading South African trading partner and depends on South Africa—as do most western nations—for large percentages of its supply of chromium, magnesium and asbestos. Futhermore, large German companies operating directly in South Africa have over 20,000 employees. The German government does not support economic sanctions, trade boycotts or prohibitions on investments.

The French government provided South Africa with its first nuclear reactor and relies heavily on South Africa for minerals. However, it does not regard policy toward South Africa as an issue of significant importance and, like Great Britain, prefers to avoid a major confrontation.

Throughout the 1960's, Israel pursued an active policy of friendship with African states. Following the 1973 War in the Middle East, however, an emerging alliance between African states and the Arab World caused a break with Israel. While there is strong anti-apartheid sentiment among many Israelis, the South African government has long been supportive of Israel. The two nations have developed agreements on trade, technology and economic cooperation.

Trade between Latin America and South Africa is small, but growing steadily. South Africa is interested in forming a South Atlantic Treaty Organization to protect the South Atlantic and wishes to expand its relations with Brazil and Argentina. In addition, all three countries are strongly anti-Communist. However, Argentina and Brazil are reluctant to make any formal military alliance with a nation regarded as a "pariah" by the world community. Brazil also wishes to improve its relations with Portuguese-speaking African countries and increase trade with black Africa. These factors mitigate against the development of a strong connection.

The Role of the Soviet Union

For a variety of reasons, the Soviet Union has been consistently increasing its involvement in Southern Africa. It seems to be hoping to improve its position with Third World and black countries by taking a strong position against South African racial policies. It seeks to promote the development of black governments that will support the Soviet Union politically and economically by opening up its access to the area's minerals. It also would

like to weaken the Western position in the region both politically and economically. The U.S.S.R. also recognizes the strategic importance of South Africa and, in case of a global conflict, would like to be in the position to disrupt western use of the sea lanes around the Cape. Finally, Russia would like to reduce the influence of the Peoples' Republic of China in Southern Africa and stake out for itself sole claim as the patron of national liberation and revolutionary movements throughout the Third World.

Even though distances are great, the Soviet Union has developed important influence in the area and has strong ties with the governments of Angola and Mozambique, providing substantial economic and military aide. There are Russian military advisors in the region. Still, Southern Africa does not appear to have a particularly high priority for Soviet policy makers, because of their interests in other areas of the world. The U.S.S.R. is in a position to destabilize and to harass, but not to dominate affairs in the area.

Of course, priorities could change. For example, given a confrontation between East and West, the Soviet Union could move to disrupt the Cape Route sea lanes in the area. The 2,300 ships traveling around the Cape each month deliver 57% of Western Europe's imported oil and 20% of the imported oil of the United States. Some 70% of the strategic raw materials used by NATO are also transported via the Cape Route. There are, however, simpler ways for Russia to disrupt supplies of Western oil and other materials if they wish to do so. Also, effectively managing military operations at such great distances from the Soviet Union would be a problem. These factors suggest that in all likelihood the region will remain low on the Soviet Union's list of priority areas.

Even so, the South African government regularly uses the communist threat and fear of the ANC to justify the use of special powers to protect itself from these outside dangers. Many South African whites regularly refer to these dangers as a serious continuing problem.

Angola and Namibia

Cuba and the Soviet Union have been active in Angola trying to insure the control of the popular front government in that African nation. Angola, with the help of Cuba and the Soviet Union, has also provided arms, training and protection for guerrillas who are fighting to gain independence for Namibia, a southwest African area that has been illegally controlled by the South African government since the end of World War I. Cuban troops are in Angola, but the cost in men and materials is great and it is unlikely they will expand their presence in the region.

Nowhere is the conflict in Southern Africa more serious than in Namibia. Both the Cubans and the Soviet Union have troops and advisors in the region. Efforts to find a solution to the continuing conflict over the territory between the Southwest Africa Peoples' Organization (SWAPO) and the South African government, a national liberation group, have been unsuccessful. Much of Namibia is desolate desert, but the former German colony has a small, yet powerful, European population. This group hopes to maintain control of the area with the help of the South African military.

South Africa is reluctant to give up control because Namibia represents the last buffer area between it and the rest of black Africa. All parties remain resistant to a compromise which will provide them with less power and position than they wish to maintain. Current U.S. policy supports the South African position linking the withdrawal of Cuban forces to South African withdrawal from Namibia. No recent progress has been made toward resolving this situation. The continuing conflict in Namibia acts as a destabilizing factor for the entire region. For example, since SWAPO guerillas often seek sanctuary in Angola, the South African military has made attacks across its borders into that country as well. Until a settlement is reached, the Namibia situation will continue to spawn strife.

For Discussion

1. What is the official O.A.U. policy toward South Africa? Is it successful? Why or why not?
2. What role does trade play in the formation of an international policy against apartheid?
3. What role does the Soviet Union play in Southern Africa? What factors mitigate a larger role for the Soviet Union?

Terror and violence mark many African lives. *(UPI)*

Now it's your turn to apply what you have learned about South Africa and the issues that surround it. In this section, there are four activities, each of which raises important questions and controversies concerning United States domestic and foreign policy towards South Africa. In addition to the reading provided for each activity, background information can be found throughout this issue of *Bill of Rights in Action*.

Activity 1: Human Rights

Does South Africa Violate the Human Rights of its Citizens?

It is not possible to deal extensively with the subject of human rights in South Africa in the short space available. Yet, human rights issues permeate the web of South African life. Are there yardsticks against which one can measure the human rights performance of a nation?

The United Nations & Human Rights

In the United States, of course, we have the Bill of Rights of the United States Constitution. There is no international judicial system which enforces human rights guarantees, nor any standardized international statutory law defining human rights. Yet, the United Nations did unanimously adopt what is called the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. Numerous Covenants to the Declaration have been prepared and debated in the United Nations since that time. Neither the Declaration or its Covenants are binding articles of international law subject to enforcement by the U.N., but they do attempt to provide a standard against which behavior can be measured. Below, we have selected and summarized 15 items from the Universal Declaration. They are:

1. The right to be free from discrimination over race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion.
2. The right to life, liberty and security.
3. The right to be free of the fear of torture, cruel, inhuman or degrading punishment.
4. Equal protection of the law.
5. No arbitrary arrest.
6. The right of an accused to a fair and public hearing.
7. The right to free movement and residence within national borders.
8. The right to leave and return to one's own country.
9. The guarantee of one's nationality.
10. Equal rights for both men and women within marriage.
11. The protection of the family unit.
12. Freedom of opinion, expression, association and assembly.
13. Universal and equal suffrage, and a secret ballot for elections.
14. The right to education equal to all based on merit.
15. The right to employment.

For Discussion

1. Is this list of abridged and rights a reasonable set of principles which to human rights? Why or why not?
2. What rights would you add or subtract? Why?
3. How do these rights compare with those contained in the U.S. Bill of Rights? Which are included? Which are not?

Instructions

Overview: Section II, "Apartheid and the Dynamics of South African Life," contains eight articles, each with interviews and supporting information, about South Africa today. In this activity, students working in teams will review these materials to determine the status of human rights in South African society as measured by the Universal Declaration.

Step I: Divide the class into teams of five or six students each. Assign each team *one* of the articles from Section II.

Step II: Each team should review the 15 items from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and decide whether any of the rights described are upheld or violated based on the information contained in the article.

Step III: Each team should prepare a brief report for the class of its conclusions regarding the status of human rights today in South Africa and the outlook for the future, to share with the class. Be sure to support your findings with appropriate facts.

Step IV: After the groups' findings have been presented and discussed, debrief the activity by trying to reach a consensus on the question: Does the South African government violate the human rights of blacks? As a follow-up, the class may be assigned additional library research to bring each report up-to-date.

Time Required: 1 to 5 class periods.

Activity 2: The Impact of American Business

Should the U.S. Invest in South Africa?

According to U.S. Commerce Department figures, American companies have investments valued at 26.3 billion dollars in South Africa. This represents an increase in 1981 of 13.3% and disappoints groups in the United States which are working to persuade American companies to withdraw their investments from the South African economy.

American companies today employ over 100,000 workers in South Africa, a large percentage of whom are Africans. Many African leaders applaud the serious effort that U.S. firms have made to increase the number of African workers they employ. However, American firms are criticized for allowing existing South African laws to limit wages and promotion opportunities for Africans. The South African Council of Churches believes that the only way to undermine South African apartheid policies is to reduce foreign investment. While this might bring short-term economic hardship, it could also bring about long-range changes in that nation's racial policies.

A counter argument has been made by some Americans. U.S. Ambassador to South Africa Herman W. Nickel praises the contribution that American firms make to the South African economy: "We believe very strongly that American companies here are a positive force for peaceful change in this part of the world. How significant is American business to the South African economy? U.S. Commerce Department figures indicate that American companies supply 13% of South Africa's total imports and Americans buy about 9% of South African exports."

Led by church leaders and university student groups, the disinvestment campaign to stimulate the withdrawal of American investments began in the United States several years ago. It has had very little direct effect on American business in South Africa. However, one result was the development of the Sullivan Code, a set of employment practices for U.S. corporations to follow. The six principles of the Code are:

1. Non-segregation of all races in eating, comfort and work facilities.
2. Equal and fair employment practices.
3. Equal pay for comparable work.
4. Training programs to prepare Africans and other non-whites for supervisory, technical, clerical and administrative jobs in substantial numbers.
5. More Africans and other non-whites in management positions.
6. Improved housing, transportation, schooling, health and recreation for employees and their families.

These principles, written by Reverend Leon Sullivan of Philadelphia, a member of the Board of Directors of General Motors Corporation, have been taken seriously by many, but not all, American companies. Arguing that sometimes the Sullivan Code necessitates ignoring South African law, some businesses simply ignore it. But others have made a significant effort to follow its requirements, and, in 1982, according to government figures, American companies spent 3.4 million dollars on employee training and educational programs for workers. Also, they have contributed 14 million dollars during the past several years to help African communities with education, housing, and health projects.

Disinvestment Phase II

A new disinvestment campaign aimed at the withdrawal of American state and city government investments (mainly in the form of pension fund money) from companies doing business with South Africa has now begun. So far, the state governments of Massachusetts, Michigan and Connecticut, and the city of Philadelphia, have all joined the campaign by adopting such measures. A similar effort has not been successful in California. Some businesses, particularly banks, are concerned that the effort could have significant impact on their business dealings with South Africa.

Presently, there are approximately 350 American companies doing business in South Africa, but only about a third have significant investments there. However, a number of other American firms are planning to make first-time investments. Whether the new approach to disinvestment will prove more effective than the campaign to bring about disinvestment through stockholder's actions remains an open question. In the following activity you will have a chance to gather information on this issue and debate the usefulness of disinvestment.

Simulation: A Legislative Proposal

You are a member of your state legislature. You have just learned that 143 million dollars of state pension funds are currently invested with companies doing business in South Africa. A fellow member of the legislature has introduced legislation requiring the State Department of Finance to certify in an annual report to the legislature that no pension funds or other monies of your state are invested in companies doing business in South Africa. The legislation would also apply to banks which make loans to companies for South African ventures.

As a rationale for legislation, it is pointed out that: a) the strict apartheid laws of South Africa require separate work areas, bathrooms and cafeterias for black and white employees; b) no foreman, supervisors or managers of whites can be African; c) most assembly line workers are African and receive low weekly wages as compared to whites; d) hourly pay rates and length of work week discriminate against Africans; e) training and skill development programs offered to white employees are not available for Africans; and f) by allowing state monies to be used by companies doing business with South Africa, the state is contributing to a system which denies even the most basic human rights to its citizens. The legislation reads:

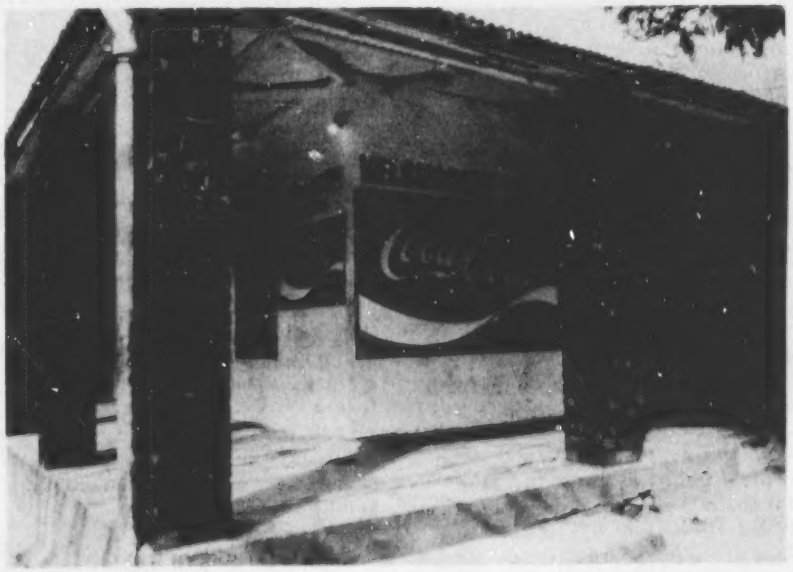
"In order to take concrete and positive action toward the achievement of full political, legal and social rights for the majority population of South Africa (African, Coloured and Asian), the legislature of this state hereby enacts the following legislation:

1. Beginning with fiscal year 1984, the state Department of Finance is hereby ordered to undertake a study to determine whether or not any American corporations operating with investment funds provided by this state through its pension investment program does business in South Africa or provides capital loans to companies who do business in South Africa.
2. The State Department of Finance is ordered, upon completion and filing of the above survey with the legislature, to withdraw all funds from private companies doing business with South Africa.
3. The Department of Finance is thereafter ordered to submit an annual report to the legislature certifying that state pension accounts are not involved in companies doing business in South Africa."

Discussion Questions

1. What is the objective of the legislation? What will it accomplish? What should it accomplish?
2. Do you think the state government should take such action to support basic American values of human rights and equal opportunity in another sovereign nation? Why or why not?
3. Do you believe that an action involving a sum of $143 million, only a fraction of total American investments in South Africa, can have sufficient impact to be worthwhile? If so, how? If not, why not?
4. Are you sufficiently concerned as a legislator to be willing to serve as a co-sponsor of the legislation? If not co-sponsor, would you be willing to speak on behalf of the legislation? Why or why not?
5. If you oppose the legislation, are you prepared to speak in opposition? Why or why not?

Signs demonstrate commercial connections between the U.S. and South Africa.



Teacher's Instructions:

1. This activity is designed to take the form of a debate on the floor of your state legislature. Ask students to read the introductory material and to decide which position they support on the legislative proposal. Ask them to commit their position to writing by preparing a short essay in which they state and defend their opinion about the proper role of American business in South Africa. Collect these papers and set them aside for later review.
2. Identify a student to serve as the presiding officer of the legislative chamber responsible for supervising the debate over this legislation. You may wish to take this role yourself.
3. To begin the session, the presiding officer should request a show of hands to determine how many students favor the legislation, how many oppose it, and how many are undecided. If practical, have the pro-group and the con-group each meet separately for at least 15 minutes to discuss their strategy for presentation of arguments to the entire chamber. You may wish to expand this step to provide for additional research. If this step is impractical, simply have the presiding officer read the legislation and open the debate.
4. So that the debate will not simply be a repetition of similar arguments, instruct the presiding officer to close debate and call for a vote when he or she believes that the full range of opinions and positions have been expressed.
5. By either a show of hands or a written ballot, call for a vote, tally the results, and discuss the outcome.
6. Return the short essays and hold a discussion regarding the similarities and differences between individual points of view at the beginning of the activity and final points of view at the time of the vote. Were there changes? What caused the changes to take place? What were the most significant arguments that were advanced in the debate?
7. Encourage students to follow the news on South Africa and watch especially for newspaper and magazine articles concerning issues about U.S. investment in South Africa.
8. If the class becomes deeply involved in the issue, form subcommittees to contact local legislators to determine whether or not any legislation concerning South African investments have been introduced in the legislature of your state.

Workers' housing built by an American company.

As A Matter of Policy

What Should America's Policy Be Towards South Africa?

How should the United States treat the Republic of South Africa? On one hand, it is Africa's greatest industrial and military power. It possesses a wealth of natural resources including important metals. It is strategically located on the Cape of Good Hope and politically anti-Soviet. These factors make it a tempting trade and military partner.

On the other hand, South Africa's apartheid policies offend the vast majority of the American public. It is alienated from and ostracized by the rest of Africa and most of the world community. Its aggressive foreign policy towards neighboring states and the possibility it already has nuclear weapons make it a dangerous and destabilizing international force.

The United States cannot take positions without considering their impact on relations with other nations. Also, internal U.S. politics and other interests must be considered. Integrating all of these factors is important in making effective policy. It is complicated but vital work. Soon, you will have a chance to develop your recommendations regarding the U.S. position toward South Africa.

U.S. Dependence on South African Supplies of Four Key Minerals

Mineral/Alloy	Total Imports as % of U.S. Consumption (1978-79 av.)	Imports from South Africa % of U.S. Imports (78-79)	Imports from South Africa % of U.S. Consumption (78-79)
Chromium:			
Ore	100	46	46
Ferroalloys	55	72	40
Manganese:			
Ore	98	15	15
Ferroalloys	71	58*	42*
Vanadium:			
Pentoxide	30	72	22
Ferroalloys	net exporter	—	—
Platinum:			
Group Metals	90	67**	60**

Source: U.S. Bureau of Mines, Minerals Yearbook, 1978-79.

*Includes an estimated amount for ferro-manganese imports from France and other countries of ore originating in South Africa.

**Includes an estimated amount for imports from Great Britain of platinum-group metals originating in South Africa.

Ensuring Supplies of Strategic Minerals

One problem concerning the South African situation is a threat to the supply of certain minerals vital to U.S. defense and industry. South Africa has the world's largest deposits of chromium, manganese and platinum. Chromium and manganese are necessary for the production of steel. Platinum is necessary for the refining of petroleum. The following chart summarizes how dependent on South African supplies the U.S. has been in recent years.

A potential interruption in the supply of minerals from South Africa could occur for any of several reasons: 1) the United States, alone or with other nations, might voluntarily deny itself access to South Africa's mineral wealth by imposing economic sanctions, including a trade embargo against South Africa; 2) the present South African government, in response to what it viewed as intolerable pressure from the United States and other nations, might retaliate by halting or reducing exports of some or all of its minerals; 3) internal upheaval in South Africa could hinder mining or transport operations, and for a time severely reduce or even halt entirely South Africa's mineral exports; 4) a new, unfriendly government in South Africa might manipulate, suspend or discontinue the sale of some or all minerals the United States and/or Western countries use.

Such stoppages could affect Western Europe and Japan which are also heavily dependent on South Africa for these minerals. Because they are political friends and military allies, the U.S. must also concern itself with the effect stoppages might have on matters of global strategy and balance.

Containing Soviet Influence

Since the 1950's, the United States and the Soviet Union have engaged in military and political competition throughout the world. Today, the Soviet Union is capable of projecting power around the globe as never before. It is argued that to contain Soviet expansion, the United States must be prepared to meet the challenge wherever it arises.

In recent years, the Soviet Union and other Communist states have shown greater involvement in African affairs and politics. The Soviet Union has championed isolation of South Africa in the U.N. It has developed

strong relations with the Marxist-Leninist governments of Angola and Mozambique and established diplomatic ties with other African states. It has also played a more direct role in Southern Africa. The Soviet Union (along with Cuba) supplied arms and military advisors to help the Movement for the Liberation of Angola. (Cuba went so far as to send troops.) The Soviet Union also supplied weapons to the "national liberation" movements of Mozambique and Zimbabwe in the 1970's and to Namibia during the 1980's.

These developments have created political problems for the United States. South Africa is central to many of them. By its apartheid policies, it is the enemy of most African states. As the strongest military power on the continent, it has opposed a number of the national liberation movements aided by the Soviet Union. South Africa sent troops to Angola, supported white Rhodesia, and is currently fighting rebels in Namibia. All of this leaves the United States in a difficult position. If it develops closer ties with South Africa to help check the growth of Communist influence, it risks alienating other African nations. The key to resolving this dilemma lies with South Africa itself. Through constructive change and movement toward a genuine sharing of political power with all of its citizens, it could reduce the danger of political instability and the growth of Communist influence in the region.

Recent American Policies

The general goal of U.S. foreign policy is to advance American interests and values globally. Yet, with each new President, the specifics of U.S. foreign policy can change. The policies of Presidents Carter and Reagan towards South Africa offer a contrast in style and emphasis.

The Carter Administration believed that African nationalism is the driving historical force on the continent, as opposed to Soviet or other Communist imperialism or subversion. It assumed that, in the long run, the development of black nationalistic movements was compatible with American interests in Africa. As strong African nations emerged, they could provide a defense against Soviet penetration. African nationalism would also eventually triumph in South Africa, and no amount of support for the losing white regime could change the result. Furthermore, though the U.S. has significant interests in South Africa, the growing economic power of the rest of Africa offers even greater opportunities for U.S. investment.

These assumptions, coupled with the Carter Administration's avowed interest in international human rights, promoted a more aggressive style toward South Africa. Congressional resolutions were passed against arrests and bannings. The United States joined the U.N. in voting for mandatory sanctions against supplying arms to South Africa. The U.S. also cooperated with the Soviet Union in pressing South Africa to abandon a planned nuclear explosive test in 1977. These actions greatly angered the South African government of Prime Minister Vorster. During the Carter years, a National Party newspaper concluded that, "relations between South Africa and the United States of America have reached an all-time low."

The presidential election of Ronald Reagan brought a number of changes in policies towards South Africa. Less concerned with the issue of human rights and more with Soviet expansion, the Reagan Administration follows a policy called "regional constructive engagement." The specific components of the approach as outlined by the State Department include:

1. Internationally recognized independence for Namibia;
2. Internationally supported programs of economic development in all the developing countries of the region;
3. A negotiated framework that will permit agreement on the issue of withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola;
4. Detente between South Africa and the other states in the region; and
5. Peaceful, evolutionary change in South Africa itself away from apartheid and toward a system of government, to be defined by South Africans themselves but firmly rooted in the principle of government by consent of the governed.

When compared to the Carter approach, this policy has meant less direct criticism and confrontation with South Africa and a greater focus on removing Soviet and Cuban presence in the region. Other major policies remain the same. The U.S. still opposes apartheid and encourages South Africa to make significant changes in its system of government.

Activity 3: Study Commission on U.S. Policy Toward Southern Africa

Imagine that you have been appointed to a commission charged with studying and making recommendations on U.S. policy towards South Africa. You will be assigned membership to one of five subcommittees, each with the task of examining one U.S. policy interest regarding South Africa.

It is the job of each committee to: 1) review available information regarding its topic to be found in this publication or elsewhere; 2) as a group, organize data and identify available choices; and 3) develop and present recommendations for constructive policy actions.

How to Proceed:

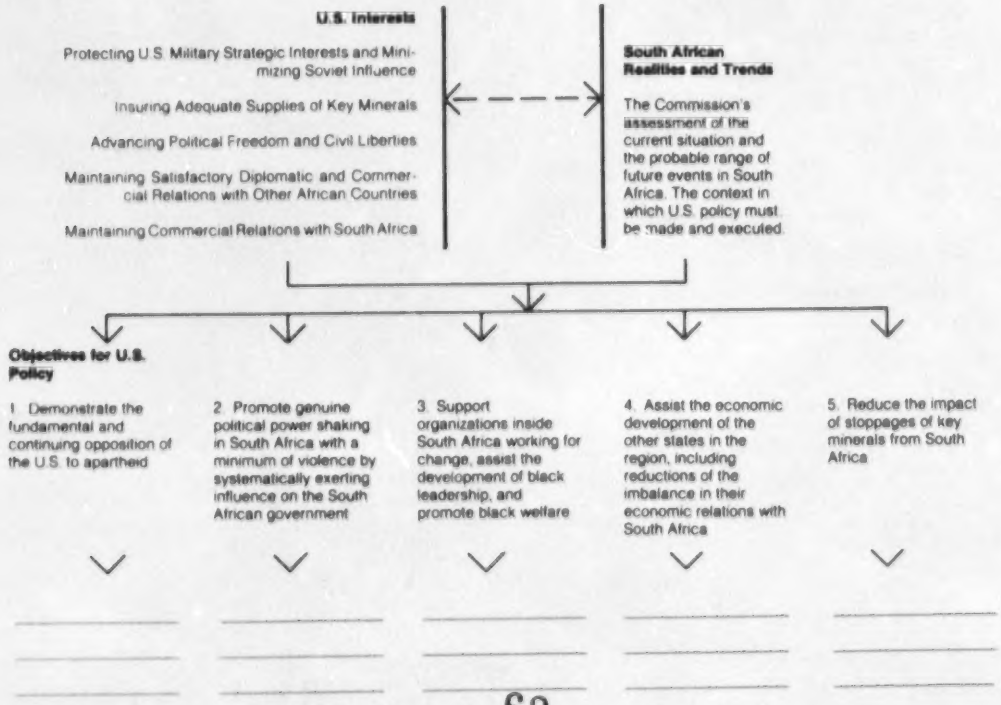
1. As a class, refer to and review the "Policy Framework" chart, pp. 61, using these questions:
   - How are each of these interests important?
   - What is the current situation in South Africa?
   - How will these objectives advance U.S. interests?
   - What action should be taken to achieve each objective?
2. Organize the class into five subcommittees and select a chairperson for each.
3. Assign one "U.S. Interest" to each committee. The chairperson should lead the group's discussions. Each member is responsible for taking notes on the group's discussion, decisions and actions based on the questions provided.
   - U.S. Interest 1: Protecting U.S. Military/Strategic Interests and Minimizing Soviet Influence
   - U.S. Interest 2: Ensuring Adequate Supplies of Key Minerals
   - U.S. Interest 3: Advancing Political Freedom and Civil Liberties
   - U.S. Interest 4: Maintaining Satisfactory Diplomatic and Commercial Relations with other African Countries
   - U.S. Interest 5: Maintaining Commercial Relations with South Africa
4. *Group Assignment:*

   Each Committee should carry out the following tasks regarding its area of interest.

   a. Review all information in this issue of *Bill of Rights in Action* which relates to the interest you have been assigned.

   b. Based on your assessment of current and probable future events in South Africa, discuss and carry out the following tasks:
   - Develop a set of outcomes, or policy objectives based on the current situation.
   - Recommend specific actions to achieve the policy objectives.
   - List the advantages and disadvantages of your proposed policy actions.
   - Identify the proposed policy actions the United States should take.
5. Each member should write a brief summary of the subcommittee's analysis and recommendations for presentation during the next activity.

Policy Framework


U.S. Interests
Protecting U.S. Military Strategic Interests and Minimizing Soviet Influence
Insuring Adequate Supplies of Key Minerals
Advancing Political Freedom and Civil Liberties
Maintaining Satisfactory Diplomatic and Commercial Relations with Other African Countries
Maintaining Commercial Relations with South Africa
South African Realities and Trends
The Commission's assessment of the current situation and the probable range of future events in South Africa. The context in which U.S. policy must be made and executed.
Objectives for U.S. Policy
1. Demonstrate the fundamental and continuing opposition of the U.S. to apartheid
2. Promote genuine political power sharing in South Africa with a minimum of violence by systematically exerting influence on the South African government
3. Support organizations inside South Africa working for change, assist the development of black leadership, and promote black welfare
4. Assist the economic development of the other states in the region, including reductions of the imbalance in their economic relations with South Africa
5. Reduce the impact of stoppages of key minerals from South Africa

Activity 4: South African Policy Transition Team

It is sometime in the 1980's. Imagine that because of your experience with the U.S. Study Commission (the previous activity), you have been selected to serve on the policy transition team of the next President of the United States. It is your job to make recommendations for a comprehensive American policy in South Africa.

How to Proceed:

1. Xerox copies of the Transition Team worksheet and distribute to each student.
2. Form the class into five transition teams made up of at least one representative from each of the five topic committees from the previous "Study Commissions" activity. (Teams may have more than one representative.)
3. Appoint a transition team leader who should follow these procedures:
   - Call on each member to make a brief presentation concerning his or her special area or interest group and the policy action recommendations it made. (If there are two members from the same study commission topic group, they should work together on the presentation.)
   - Call for comments or questions from the rest of the team.
   - Call for a vote on whether the recommendations should be presented as policy to the President. (Majority wins—in case of a tie, the team leader's decision is final.)
   - Repeat the process until all recommendations are presented, discussed and voted on for recommendation as policy.
4. As a group, complete the Transition Team Worksheet.
5. *Debriefing:* Refer to the Study Commission Recommendations on page 12 of this issue of the *Bill of Rights in Action*. Compare your team's recommendations with those of the Commission.
   - How are they similar? How do they differ?
   - Which of the Study Commission's Recommendations would you adopt? Why?

Case Study Answers

Answers to Case Studies, pp. 25.

Answer to Case Study #1

This was an actual case which began in 1967 when Sandra was 11 and was again reported in the newspaper in 1978 when she was 22. A similar incident could have occurred in many American states, which prevented interracial marriage thoughout the 19th and much of the 20th century. The U.S. Supreme Court declared these laws unconstitutional in the case of *Loving v. Virginia* 388 U.S. 1 (1964).

Answer to Case Study #2

This was the U.S. case of *Kolender v. Lawson* (decided by the U.S. Supreme Court on May 2, 1983). The Court ruled 7-2 that the law as quoted was too vague and gave the police almost complete discretion as to whether a suspect had violated the statute. This is similar to the substantial power police in South Africa have to stop, question and arrest for pass law violations and the vagueness in the language of the Terrorism Act (now "Internal Security Act") and other laws there.

Answer to Case Study #3

This was the actual case of *State v. Motsaw* (Witwatersrand Local Division, April 1974) (unreported), in which the publication of the poem was found to have had the likely result of causing a reader to feel hostile toward whites. The accused could not prove beyond a reasonable doubt that he did not intend his friend to have such feelings. He was consequently convicted of terrorism and sentenced to five years imprisonment.

Answer to Case Study #4

In this case, the publications committee reconsidered its earlier ban of the novel and allowed it to be read in South Africa. The process of banning books and films appears to be quite arbitrary as far as the publication committees are concerned. An appellate tribunal has recently established clearer guidelines for censorship.

Transition Team Worksheet

Policy Action Summary

Instructions: Complete this worksheet by summarizing in your team's adopted policy recommendations.

- *U.S. Interest 1:* Protecting U.S. Military/Strategic Interests & Minimizing Soviet Influence

  Objectives: _____

  _____

  Recommended Action: _____

  _____

  _____

- *U.S. Interest 2:* Ensuring Adequate Supplies Of Key Minerals

  Objectives: _____

  _____

  Recommended Action: _____

  _____

  _____

- *U.S. Interest 3:* Advancing Political Freedom and Civil Liberties

  Objectives: _____

  _____

  Recommended Action: _____

  _____

  _____

- *U.S. Interest 4:* Maintaining Satisfactory Diplomatic & Commercial Relations with other African Countries

  Objectives: _____

  _____

  Recommended Action: _____

  _____

  _____

- *U.S. Interest 5:* Maintaining Commercial Relations with South Africa

  Objectives: _____

  _____

  Recommended Action: _____

  _____

  _____

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